

**SPANISH LANGUAGE USE AND LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES IN LAREDO,
TEXAS BETWEEN 1860 AND 1930**

A Dissertation

by

CONCEPCIÓN MARÍA HICKEY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2012

Major Subject: Hispanic Studies

Spanish Language Use and Linguistic Attitudes in Laredo, Texas

between 1860 and 1930

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ABSTRACT

Spanish Language Use and Linguistic Attitudes
in Laredo, Texas between 1860 and 1930.

(May 2012)

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This qualitative study investigated Spanish language use and linguistic attitudes in Laredo, Texas and the surrounding area from 1860 to 1930. In the public domain, sources include the Spanish and English language newspapers and Webb County Court documents. These were analyzed for evidence of the impact of English language contact and prevailing attitudes towards the use of Spanish from both the Hispanic and Anglo perspective. In the private domain, three major collections of private correspondence as well as other miscellaneous correspondence and records were transcribed and analyzed for evidence of metalinguistic or other attitudes towards Spanish. A linguistic analysis of the orthographic, phonological, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic features of Spanish used in the correspondence was also conducted.

The major collections of correspondence and other private papers include: 1) the John Z. Leyendecker collection, 2) letters from the Clemente and Federico Idar Family Papers, and 3) the Miguel San Miguel Jr. private collection. The multiple authors in

these collections come from low to middle income families and from varied educational and linguistic backgrounds, thus providing a broad socio-economic linguistic sample.

Findings include a strong support for Spanish language use and teaching/learning of the Spanish language as well as varied levels of language confidence among bilingual and aspiring second language learners. Negative attitudes regarding class and lack of education rather than ethnicity were clearly held by some writers. Additionally, mixed attitudes about the strong presence of the Mexican culture in Laredo were found. The linguistic analysis found little evidence of English impact during the 1860s, but growing evidence of its influence during the early 20th century. Most prevalent were the use of English loan words, nativized loan words, and nonce borrowings. Some evidence of language shift was noted in the younger writers of the twentieth century. A few of the more salient Spanish linguistic features found include the use of the synthetic future verb form, minimal confusion between *ser* and *estar*, metathesis, apocope, vowel raising and lowering, and archaic expressions.

DEDICATION

To my loving husband, John F. Hickey, who generously and faithfully supported and encouraged me during this academic journey. To my children Michael Francis, Diana Lilia, and James Harvey and grandchildren, Matías, María Paz, Sebastián, Oliver, and Analilia, I dedicate this accounting of our Spanish language history in Laredo, Texas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank, most deeply, my committee chair, Dr. María Irene Moyna, who inspired me to pursue this research topic and who patiently guided me through the whole process of my research and writing. Her unfailing support of my work, her meticulous review of my drafts which included many detailed comments and questions, and her expert guidance as a linguist contributed greatly to the completion of this research. It is to her that I owe the greatest debt. I consider her a mentor and friend, one who has enriched my intellectual life and taught me how to approach linguistic research.

To my committee members, Drs. Brian Imhoff, Jerry Thompson, Carlos Blanton, and José P. Villalobos, my deepest appreciation for your support and your guidance. To Dr. Imhoff who taught me and guided me through the transcription process, I will be forever grateful. I also owe a debt of thanks to Dr. Jerry Thompson as well as Dr. Stanley Green, both historians at Texas A&M International University who generously guided me through the literature on Laredo's history and their own scholarly work on this topic, which taught me about the rich and unique history of my hometown. Similarly, Dr. Carlos Blanton introduced me to the significant literature regarding South Texas history. I learned much from his recommended readings and used them extensively in my work. To Dr. José P. Villalobos, my sincere appreciation for serving on my committee, for encouraging me through my entire studies, and for his thorough and most helpful review of my dissertation.

I especially wish to acknowledge Laredoan Irma Flores for her generosity in making available to me the collection of letters from Mr. Rafael San Miguel Sr. from Zapata, Texas. I also wish to acknowledge María Eugenia López who so graciously shared, for the purposes of this study, a letter written by her father, Guillermo Sandoval, to his mother. It added a very interesting dimension to the linguistic information of Laredoans from the turn of the century. To all the individuals who assisted me in my research at the University of Texas Briscoe Center for American History and the Benson Center of Latin American Studies, and at the Special Collections of Texas A&M International University, I extend my thanks.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF LAREDO

1.1. Introduction

Laredo, Texas, the major gateway to Texas from Mexico, has been a bi-cultural, bilingual community since the self-proclaimed, independent republic of Texas north of the Rio Grande was annexed by the United States in 1848. Following the Peace Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, many Mexicanos, newly made Tejanos, who had settled in the villa de Laredo on the north side of the river were left with a choice. They could become U.S citizens if they stayed or they could cross the Rio Grande, become Mexican citizens and live in the newly named city of Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas. Those who remained in the annexed land had to assume a new external identity, but as Tejanos their core identity changed little. Spanish was their mother tongue, and they held on to their Mexican heritage.

Nonetheless, these Tejanos experienced significant changes in their daily lives. English became the official language of city and county government, and Anglos and other foreigners began to settle in greater numbers as economic opportunities unfolded.

This long and rich bilingual/bicultural history offers opportunities for sociolinguistic research on Spanish language use in the South Texas borderlands and Laredo in particular. My investigation focuses on the history of the Spanish in this area and its most notable linguistic characteristics from the 1860s to the 1930s. From 1860 to 1880, Laredo remained geographically isolated from the rest of Texas and

This dissertation follows the style of *Language*.

English contact, although present, was not as intense as in the period after 1880. During this latter period, Spanish speakers began to have increased language contact with English due to a large influx of Anglos and foreigners who came to Laredo to make their fortune due to the arrival of the railroads. Thus a study of Spanish language use prior to and after the railroad arrival in Laredo offers an opportunity to compare and analyze what differences may have existed both in Spanish language use and attitude about Spanish speakers.

Consequently, this investigation focuses on three topics: first, the impact of Spanish/English contact on the use of both languages in public and private domains; second, the linguistic features of the Spanish language most impacted by English language contact and third, the prevailing attitudes among Tejanos, Anglos, and foreigners regarding the use of Spanish in Laredo and the surrounding community.

To answer these research questions, evidence has been drawn from personal and public primary sources. Personal sources include correspondence among family members, friends, or business contacts that lived either in Laredo or in nearby towns during this period. Public sources include newspaper ads, letters to the editors, court records, or other documents that attest to the level and quality of Spanish language use. These primary sources document the linguistic features of the written language in use during this period. Although it may not be possible to determine whether these samples represent the language use of a large segment of the population, they serve to describe the linguistic profile of a particular group of Spanish speakers. Information regarding the frequency of use and linguistic attitudes towards Spanish was also gathered from an

analysis of the content. For example, Spanish writers' metalinguistic references to their Spanish language competency or their attitude toward their knowledge or lack of knowledge of Spanish provided important insights. Also, positive or negative statements regarding the Spanish language or its use are included, e.g., writers' support of Spanish language education, references to the inherent characteristics of the language, or racist or pejorative statements written about the use of Spanish or its speakers helped construct an understanding of attitudes towards Spanish during this period.

Since primary sources represent a small sample of the population, indirect evidence has been used to build a general framework regarding the overarching research questions. One indirect source includes the Spanish newspaper industry in the Laredo area during this period. Identification of the newspapers in question and an analysis of their content and publication dates contributed to an understanding of the size of the Spanish language readership, and indirectly, the level of Spanish literacy in the Laredo community. Another source is the U.S. census records that provided information regarding Laredoans' literacy, schooling, employment and ethnicity during these decades.

To my knowledge, no extensive sociolinguistic research on Spanish language use in Laredo has been conducted. This includes research on the linguistic features of Spanish between the 1860s and the 1930s in Laredo and on linguistic attitudes by Spanish and non-Spanish speakers. Additionally, socio-historical linguistic research about Spanish language use in the United States has been scanty, much of it focusing on Spanish in the Southwest, i.e. California, New Mexico, and Arizona. This dissertation contributes to the

body of literature about Spanish historical sociolinguistics in the South Texas borderlands and other areas in the United States where Spanish and English have come into contact.

1.2. History of Laredo

1.2.1. 1755–1810

1.2.1.1. Laredo's Settlement and Early History

The history of Laredo is a chapter in the history of the Spanish Crown's colonization of the northern borders of New Spain, present-day northern Mexico and the American Southwest. Spain's incursions into these northern lands in the 1500s were first prompted by tales of riches in the mythical Seven Cities of Cíbola. When those hopes were dashed in the 1600s, mining and prospecting became the focus, and explorers, accompanied by missionaries, were sent into New Mexico (Bannon 1970: 28-29). The most important excursion was led in New Mexico by Juan de Oñate, who managed to found Santa Fe in 1607 after enduring many hardships and battles with Indians and even among his own entourage. Spain, however, now faced the challenge of supporting the new settlement, and to do so, it had to settle the vast land between New Mexico and New Spain alongside the eastern side of the Sierra Madre (Kessel 2002: 71-96).

As early as 1570, Spain looked eastward as well, and through the efforts of the Jesuits it settled areas of Florida and South Carolina. However, the English and French threatened Spain's borderlands on the east, south and the Gulf Coast. Spain's struggle to hold on to its territory and keep France, in particular, out of Spanish-claimed land started earnestly in 1684 in response to the French explorers settlement on the Mississippi (Foster 1995: 1). Fearing that this would lead to expansion towards the Gulf

Coast if the French followed the river, the Spanish, with the help of René Robert Cavelier, more commonly known by his title, the Sieur de La Salle, settled in Matagorda Bay on the Texas Gulf coast, much further south than they had intended to, in the Mississippi Delta. The excitement related to this settlement, and later the belief that all had perished, led to five land expeditions from 1686-1690 headed by General Alonso de León. The Spanish Crown was determined to lay claim to the land La Salle had settled. De León's expeditions were followed by nine more that lasted until the mid eighteenth century. From 1731 through 1745, Spain's interests focused on the viability of the settlements that had already been established, but from 1745 through 1762, the Crown dedicated its efforts to expanding the colonization to the northern territories, the *Seno Mexicano*, in response to reports that France might be attempting to lay claim to this part of Texas (Foster 1995: 1-6). The *Seno Mexicano* included the territory from Nuevo Reino de León on the west, to the Gulf of Mexico on the east, and from Rio Pánuco on the south to the Nueces River on the north (Osante 1997: 16).

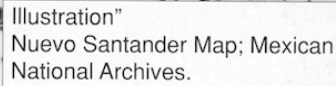
This history had not been researched in the United States until the early twentieth century. In fact, historian, Herbert E. Bolton notes in his book, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, that this period of Texas history while under governance of Spain had been lightly researched, with "no satisfactory account" (1915). His landmark book recounts the administrative realities and economic and political interests that guided the Spanish Crown's concern for colonial expansion of its northern territories.

The major figure in one of these northward expansions was Colonel Don José de Escandón, a wealthy *empresario* and a respected *conquistador* (Wilkinson 1975). His

charge was to “conquer and colonize” the large geographical zone known as El Seno Mexicano, later named La Colonia del Nuevo Santander (Osante 1997: 16). See Figure 1. Escandón planned to establish settlements as far north as the Nueces River, but two failed attempts by others due to the hostility of the Indians and the inhospitable land convinced him that it was a premature venture.

One of these failed attempts had been made by Don Tomás Sánchez, a criollo and wealthy hacendado from Dolores, an *hacienda* ten leagues (approximately thirty miles) southeast of the future Laredo site. Sánchez had originally requested permission to settle close to his own ranch, at a ford called El Paso de Jacinto, just ten leagues up from Dolores on the northern side of the Rio Grande. Sánchez had a large family and hoped to establish not just an *hacienda* but also a settlement. Upon Sánchez’ negative report regarding the settling on the Nueces River, Escandón approved his request to settle on the northern border of the Rio Grande (Bolton 1915). The date was May 15th, 1755 although October 1755 is the date Escandón formally reported La Villa de Laredo’s founding to the Crown (300).

Laredo, so named by Escandón after Laredo, Spain, a beautiful, northern coastal city on the Bay of Biscay known as the Costa Esmeralda, was completely unlike its Peninsular counterpart (Thompson 1986: 11). The first geographical record of the Laredo settlement occurred during an important historical event on July 22, 1757, when Don José Tienda de Cuervo, captain of the Dragoons of Vera Cruz, and his assistant, Don Agustín López de Cámara Alta, an engineer, were sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, to head an inspection of the new settlement (Wilkinson 1975: 27). All settlers were told



to report to the authorities, and they were questioned about their families, the knowledge of the terrain, and their livelihood. It was, in a way, the first unofficial census of Laredo. Tomás Sánchez stated that serious droughts were common, that they lived off the profits of sheep and goat herding, and that they needed more land so they could expand their only source of income, their stock. Farming was not a profitable option due to the hot and dry weather. Testimonies regarding the Indians identified three bands of Indians, the Coahuiltecan, the Borrados, and the Boca Prietas, who roamed the surrounding plains, but all residents agreed that the Indians were not a problem at this point in Laredo's history (30). Tomás Sánchez highlighted the excellent location of the settlement because of its proximity to the ford they called the San Miguel de la Garza, which allowed the herds of sheep and goats to cross the Rio Grande easily between the province of Texas and the provinces of Nuevo León and Coahuila (Wilkinson 1975: 29-30). This ford was three leagues down river. Another ford discovered by Jacinto de León in 1748 lay only one quarter of a league down river and was named Paso de Jacinto (Wood 2004).

Don Agustín López noted in his report that Laredo sat on a plain on the north bank of the Rio Grande, surrounded by two arroyos: the Arroyo de Chacón on the east and the Arroyo de Lomas Altas on the southwest side (Thompson 1986: 13). He referred to it not as a village, but as the *rancho de Laredo*, and indicated that ranching seemed a profitable enterprise due to the availability of land and the increase in stock that the settlers had experienced (Wilkinson 1975: 29). *Jacales* were the only structures that had been erected up to this date (28). No significant timber existed that could be

used to build, but Laredo did have stone. However, stonemasons did not appear until several decades later, since adobe, grass, and cane proved more popular due to the ease of construction with these materials (Wood 2004: 19). López recommended that the settlers be given permission to expand their communal lands for ranching purposes since irrigation from the river was not a practical option. The arable land was too far away and too high from the river. He further recommended that a priest be sent to minister to the needs of both Laredo and Dolores since Sánchez had reported that the priest from Revilla, which was twenty-two leagues away, came only once a year (Wood 2004: 20).

Laredo was one of 23 settlements founded in the Nuevo Santander, but only one of two, founded on the northern side of the Rio Grande, the other being Dolores. Both of these settlements were founded at no cost to the Crown because Sánchez and Vásquez Borrego, who settled Dolores in 1750, were willing to risk their personal wealth for the opportunities that a frontier might afford them (Wilkinson 1975: 22). Other settlements of import on the southern side of the river and south of Laredo were Revilla (1750), Mier (1753), Camargo, and Reynosa (1749) (Bolton 1915: 58-59).

One major contribution to Laredo's history is J. B. Wilkinson's book, *Laredo and the Rio Grande Frontier*, published in 1975. Wilkinson (1975) painstakingly researched a detailed account of Laredo's history from 1755 to 1920. He recounts that twelve years after Laredo's founding, in 1767, the "General Visit of the Royal Commission to the Colonies of Nuevo Santander" took place with the purpose of apportioning land. Prior to this visit, Spain gave the settlers communal lands to encourage the development of communities rather than individual holdings. However

once Laredo had been settled, Spain's representatives, Don Juan Fernando Palacio and Don José de Osorio y Llamas, distributed 89 *porciones* or shares of land according to rank and length of residency. They granted Sánchez two *porciones* in return for his service to the Crown, eight to other members of his family, 34 *porciones* were reserved for future settlers, and the remaining 43 were given to other Laredoans. In all, the Sánchez extended family owned approximately 100,000 acres, a fact which would ensure their political power for years to come (Wilkinson 1975: 37). The other settlers were mostly young couples eager to risk what they had for a chance to earn *porciones* for themselves (Lott & Martínez 1953: 4). Even though these pioneers were apportioned free land, the topography and the presence of Indians in this area presented enormous challenges.

Although Tomás Sánchez founded Laredo and was land-wealthy as indicated by Hinojosa's (1983) account of early Laredo politics, he lost political control of the town temporarily when the west side of the river, present-day Nuevo Laredo, was settled by large numbers of ranchers from Revilla looking for new grazing land. At that time these settlements were under Laredo's jurisdiction. A year later, these Revillanos took political control of the town elections and then attempted to move the seat of government to their side of the river (Hinojosa 1983; Wright 1992). Sánchez, however, wasted no time in exerting his authority when he became mayor. He took advantage of the longstanding Spanish tradition of issuing *bandos*, which required that citizens live in the town and not in the outlying areas. This not only re-established his authority, but increased the value of his lands and helped the town better protect itself from the Indians (Hinojosa 1983:

12). Wilkinson (1975) provides a more detailed account of this incident, citing that Sánchez appealed to Governor González de Santiánes when Mayor José Martínez de Sotomayor tried to move the government to the right side of the river, in Revilla, where he lived. It was the Governor who supported Sánchez, stripped Sotomayor of his office, and appointed Sánchez mayor (45).

The study of Laredo's ethnic composition from its earliest history yields some interesting observations. The first official records on the ethnic composition of Laredoans indicate that the majority of citizens were of mixed blood (Wright 1992: 513). Hinojosa's observation is that class and racial distinctions were very marked from the outset, as early as 1785, and that they grew even more so by the mid 1830s. This is evident from the four ethnic categories used in the 1757 census to identify its residents: *españoles*, *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and *indios* (Hinojosa 1983: 17). Those who held social rank were identified as *españoles* even if they were not Spanish-born, and only they could hold the title of *don* or *doña*. One example of this was Tomás Sánchez, who was born close to Monterrey (Wright 1992: 376; Hinojosa 1983: 18). Robert Wood (2004), in his book, *Life in Laredo*, disagrees that the title of *Don* was used just to address those of high social rank. According to him, although those of noble origins might have received privileged treatment, all men, even criminals, were addressed as *Don*, a practice that reflected the deep-rooted politeness inherent in the culture (112). Nonetheless, other indicators of class difference were noted in the treatment of racially mixed common marriages, especially those with the Carrizo *indios*, which were not legally recognized for the most part, and therefore resulted in low social and economic status for

the spouses and their children. It is clear from the records that the Indian population was socially marginalized. They do not appear in the 1757 census or in the official reports to the Crown (Hinojosa 1983: 19).

In the census of 1789, 700 citizens were categorized as *españoles*, *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and then a side note indicated that 110 Carrizo *indios* were connected to the periphery of the village (Wood 2004: 112). Further evidence of the presence of ethnic distinctions exists in church and government documents of 1770, which assessed different fines and punishments along ethnic lines. Enumerators continued to mark those distinctions in later census records even though it was no longer obligatory to do so (Hinojosa 1983: 18-19).

Wright (1992) states that as early as the 1600s, it was even common practice among early Spanish settlers to enslave the *indios* and force them to work on their lands under the pretext of offering them religious instruction. This *congrega* system was repealed in 1700, but it left its mark on the social practice of treating the Indians as property (381-2).

Families were the backbone of Laredo's social structure in its early years (Hinojosa 1983: 20). The stability of the community was largely due to the tight family units that existed among the settlers, regardless of class or rank. Extended family lived in the same household, and social contact between men and women outside the family was closely monitored. Even so, illegitimate birth records ranged from 14% before the War of Independence to 45.1 % in 1823, with the greatest concentration among *indios* and *mestizos*. This alarmingly high statistic reflects the realities that greatly influenced

population trends: the lack of priests to administer the sacrament of matrimony and the continuous presence of soldiers (Hinojosa 1983: 110). Another interesting population statistic is the high percentage of widows, 13% in 1819, which was due in large part to the wars that ravaged the area on both sides of the border (109). Laredo's economy suffered for years from the warfare, and its population felt the blows of the constant struggle to survive in a relatively inhospitable land.

1.2.1.2. Indians

As early as 1751, before Laredo was formally settled by Tomás Sánchez, Escandón reported that 77 Indian families lived in the area that he christened at the mission of San Agustín de Laredo, although no physical mission existed at this time. Fray Juan Bautista García, who accompanied Escandón during his early forays into this area, wrote that it was a desirable location for a future settlement since "seven Indian nations all subjected" lived in the area (Wood 2004: 17). These seven "nations", the term the Spanish used to refer to the different bands, likely included the Coahuiltecans who were believed to speak the same language. However, according to La Vere (2004) the group referred to as Coahuiltecans probably spoke several dialects including Tonkawan, Solano, Karankawan, and Comecrudo (64). Martin Salinas' (1990) work, based on Bolton's earlier research and on Spanish primary documents, identified 39 bands of Indians in the area of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León, and Coahuila and the northernmost part of Nuevo Santander, San Antonio de Bexar (Galindo 2003). On the other hand, the anthropologist John Swanton identified 218 bands (Vere 2004). Unfortunately, clarity regarding the number and the true names of the different Indian

groups remains a challenge since the Spanish used descriptive names to refer to them instead of their native ones. As a result, duplicate names were recorded for tribes that wandered through an extensive geographical area. For example, the Western Carrizos, also known as the Yemé or Tusan, populated the most immediate area in Laredo. The name Carrizos identified the Indians who used canes or reeds as shelter. Another band, the Borrados, whose generic name is derived from their heavily tattooed skin, lived close to Laredo, around Dolores and the lower Rio Grande Valley, and numerous other groups lived around Revilla and Mier. López de la Cámara Alta, during his inspection in 1757, identified 14 groups in the Rio Grande area and noted that eight of them spoke similar dialects, probably the Comecrudo dialect (50-52).

What is clear is that many Indians lived in the South Texas region. During the first official inspection tour in 1757, Tomás Sánchez indicated that Indians were so numerous that they could not be counted, but that even the Apaches, who would sometimes make their way into their area, did not bother Laredoans (Wood 2007: 20).

Peaceful living with the Indians, however, was of short duration. The English colonist settlements in the northeast and the expansion towards the western frontier resulted in the expulsion of Indians from the Northwest Territories. The Indians could not defend themselves with the bow and arrow and began to move in a southerly direction. As a result, the Spanish settlers in Nuevo Santander began to see new tribes that had not been there during the early eighteenth century (Wood 2004: 77). The Lipan Apaches, for example, migrated to the land between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande because they were fleeing from the Comanche, who were displaced from the

northwest as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. As the villas along the border prospered, the Comanche pushed southward as far as Texas. The Comanche were “nomads, superb horsemen, and fierce warriors” (Wood 2004: 77-78). Laredo was particularly vulnerable since it was the only settlement between San Antonio de Bexar and the Rio Grande (Wilkinson 1975: 26). By 1770, Sánchez makes reference to Indian raids, blaming them in part for the city’s inability to pay taxes to the Crown (Wood 2007: 30). On November 18, 1773, Sánchez reported to the Governor of the Nuevo Santander, González de Santiánes, that the Comanches had murdered four people and had stolen horses from his ranch (Wilkinson 1975: 50).

Both the Lipan Apache and the Comanche were the scourge of the Spanish residents (Berlandier 1980). In 1818 the largest Comanche Indian invasion occurred when more than a thousand of them descended on the area (Wilkinson 1975: 98). Even though the Lipan Apache forged a treaty with Iturbide after Mexico’s independence in 1821, they continued to raid border settlements after that (Wilkinson 1975: 110).

Fortunately for the border frontiersmen, an alliance between the Comanche and the Lipan that focused on disturbing the Texas borderland settlements did not last. When the Lipan spent their energy fighting the Comanche, the Spanish colonizers enjoyed some respite from the constant marauding raids (Berlandier 1980: 130). However, those periods were infrequent. For the most part, Laredoans suffered immensely from the incessant Indian raids that lasted well into the late nineteenth century. The 1819 census reports that 37 of the 54 ranches in Laredo were abandoned

due to Indian raids (Galindo 2003: 54). Laredoans lost life and property, and this fact exacerbated the difficulties they faced living on the frontier.

1.2.2. 1810-1845

1.2.2.1. Influence of Mexico's Revolution on Laredo

The formal beginning of Mexico's first unsuccessful attempt at independence, *el día del grito*, occurred on September 16, 1810, when Father Miguel Hidalgo y Castillo passionately called on his parishioners in the city of Dolores, Guanajuato to begin the insurrection against Spanish rule (Wilkinson 1975: 81). A decade of turmoil followed, with a second attempt at independence articulated in the *Plan de Iguala* in 1821 (Wilkinson 1975: 104). The three guarantees in the plan, one of which was Mexico's independence under the rule of a Bourbon monarch, were ultimately not honored by Ferdinand VII. Then in 1822, Agustín Iturbide successfully led a third bid for independence declaring himself Emperor, at the supposed request of the people. His reign lasted only one year, a harbinger of the political unrest to follow for years to come (Wilkinson 1975: 107).

During this politically volatile period, factions of loyalists and insurgents fought each other, some in south and central Mexico, and a few in Nuevo Santander, also called the Eastern Interior Provinces. Once Iturbide's Mexican empire crumbled, a constituent congress was formed that quickly divided into two camps, the federalists and the centralists. The federalists, originally the Insurgents, advocated state rights and decentralization of power; the centralists, originally the Loyalists, whose seat of power

was Mexico City, wanted a strong central government (Wilkinson 1975: 105, Hinojosa 1983: 27).

Early in the bid for independence, Laredo aligned itself with the loyalists, headed by Captain Anastacio Bustamente and supported by the interests of the wealthy landowners, some factions of the military, and even some of the priests, most notably Bishop Marín. (Wood 2004: 68). Others, however, were sympathetic to the insurgency, led most prominently by the two Gutiérrez de Lara brothers and Antonio de Zapata, who hailed from Revilla. Father Gonzales de Hermosillo, Laredo's pastor until shortly before his death in 1833, and Father José María García, his successor, supported the insurgents (Wright 1992: 472). By the end of 1823, Laredo declared its unwavering support for the federalist cause.

On January 31, 1824, Mexico adopted its *acta constitutiva*, better known as the Mexican Constitution of 1824, and declared itself a republic (Wilkinson 1975: 112). One of the acts of that constitution was the creation of the state of Tamaulipas. Laredo had been part of the Province of Nuevo Santander prior to that, but this historical event formalized Laredo's participation as a member of a new state in an independent and politically unstable government (Wood 2004: 63). The city would shift allegiances several times during the years that followed in response to Mexico's political turmoil.

Laredo struggled to survive politically and economically during those turbulent years. The poverty of the city, in addition to the barrenness of the terrain, the poor quality of the soil, the dust, the heat, and the *jacales* that comprised the majority of the construction in the villa has been noted in several historical accounts. Poverty among the

Indians was so severe that some sold their children to the settlers as slave labor in exchange for food or animals, and historians account for the decline in Indian population in part to this practice (Galindo 2003: 54). Berlandier's notes during his journey to Texas in 1829 describe Laredo as an uninviting settlement incapable of producing enough food to feed its citizens, due to the sandy soil and the hot, dusty, and intemperate weather (Wright 1992: 263-264). Hinojosa (1983) makes similar references in his description of Laredo during the 1820s, noting that the town's only asset was its location on the Río Grande (Hinojosa 1983: 40). Even Stephen F. Austin on a trip through Laredo in 1822 writes:

From the Medina River to Laredo, the country is the poorest I ever saw in my life. It is generally nothing but sand, entirely void of timber, covered with scrubby thorn bushes and prickly pear. Laredo is as poor as sand banks, and drought, and indolence can make it (Wright 1992: 505).

Nonetheless, Laredo survived during these challenging years. Around 1828, Laredo's population grew to 2,052, a 7% increase from 1824, due to either an extensive migration of young people or early marriages (Hinojosa 1983: 38). Whatever the reason, the increase in population suggests that Laredo was experiencing some economic growth. Sheep grazing accounted for some of this growth, since the sheep headcount grew from 700 in 1824 to 3,223 by 1828. However, the population growth was not to last. By 1831, Laredo's population decreased and continued to do so until 1835, largely due to the scarcity of any real livelihood from sheep or goat herding (Hinojosa 1983: 40-42).

Even though Laredo weather was dry and hot, some agricultural economy did exist. In 1828 the mayor recorded the growing of beans, corn and fruit, but later records only mention corn (Wood 2004: 167). Another hardship that contributed to a decline in population was a cholera outbreak in 1833 that claimed 110 lives (Wright 1992: 515).

With respect to the economy, Laredo grew in prominence as a result of Mexico's independence since it became the preferred route of trade from the Nueces River to the central part of Mexico, upstaging the Rio Grande Valley. Smuggling also prospered due to the high tariffs and the trade restrictions imposed by the Mexican government. In fact, smuggling was so commonplace that custom officials ignored it (Wright 1992: 502-503). However, all was not golden for Laredo during this period. Indian raids grew in frequency and intensity in the 1830s. The Mexican military was present intermittently during this period, principally in response to the Indian attacks, but also because Laredo was situated on the northernmost territory of Mexico and was vulnerable to foreign invasion. The First Permanent Company moved from Laredo to San Antonio de Bexar and returned only briefly in 1832 after a series of pleas from the mayors of that period who were desperate to defend themselves from the Indians (Wright 1992: 129). Each time military incursions passed through Laredo, the soldiers requisitioned everything they wanted and left Laredoans to suffer the consequences (Wright 1992: 508).

1.2.2.2. Religion and Education

Laredo was one of the few settlements that did not have a permanent priest assigned to it until the second half of the eighteenth century. Before that it only had intermittent visits from the priest in Revilla. Laredo's citizens were poor and did not

have the resources to build a church, much less support a priest (Wood 2004: 137-138). The first permanent priest, Juan José de la Garza, was assigned in 1789 and reference is made during that year to a church door, a historical detail that indicates that some sort of structure, not just a hut, had been built by that time. Fr. José Manuel Pérez Flores replaced Fr. De la Garza that same year and remained in town from 1789 through 1808. In 1795, Fr. Pérez Flores was given permission to rebuild the existing church (Wood 2004: 140-141). Upon his retirement, Fr. José María García Panao served the Laredo community for twenty years (142) and then Fr. José Trinidad García became pastor for another twenty years, until 1851, having served that community through the difficult years of the annexation in 1846.

The faith of Laredo citizens was vibrant, as can be seen by numerous documents, such as wills, legal depositions, and decrees. The Catholic faith, as would be expected, was front and center in all aspects of life in the village of Laredo (Wood 2004: 147-148). In fact, the first motivation for the establishment of a school was the need to educate the children in matters of faith. Thus in 1783, the governor decreed that all children up to age twelve had to go to the church to receive instruction. The records, however, seem to indicate that those attempts were unsuccessful. Education proved to be a luxury Laredo could not afford. This continued to be the case during the 1820s, with few students attending school and poorly paid teachers playing dual roles as teachers and church cantors (Wright 1992: 531).

Not until 1821, when Francisco Fernández offered his services for a modest pay, did the first successful and formal school come to be, one that taught catechism and the

A, B, Cs (Wood 2004: 153-155). Even then, attendance was low, with only 117 out of 1,800 children in 1822. When Francisco Fernández's tenure ended in 1827, the council elected to hire another teacher, but this time the schooling took on a more secular approach. Perhaps the more liberal political leanings regarding the separation of church and state influenced this shift.

School attendance fluctuated, reflecting the challenges of war, drought, poverty, and migration. School records indicate that eighty-three students attended in August 1827 but only sixty-seven in October 1829 (Wood 2004: 158). The presence of the military, for example, greatly impacted the student population. When the military were called away, the school population declined. The 1829 –1831 school rolls reflect a loss of fifty students from the military during those three years. Only five remained in 1831, while local students totaled sixty-two in 1829 and seventy-six during the 1831-1832 school term (Hinojosa 1983: 46). In 1830, school was not in session since the teacher's contract had expired. In June 1831, the council signed a two-year contract with a new teacher, Miguel Cameros, for the yearly salary of two hundred and fifty pesos (Wood 2004: 158). However, schooling continued to be erratic. The Laredo Archives record that school was in session in the spring of 1835, but no records exist for that summer or 1836. A newly formed school board in 1836 sought funds to pay the teacher's salary, something the city had been unable to do. In 1837, the school shut down, as the economy worsened during Texas' fight for independence (Hinojosa 1983: 52).

1.2.2.3. Laredo, Capital of the Republic of Texas, 1836

In the early 1830s, Anglo- Americans who had settled in the northernmost part of Nuevo Santander began to interpret their allowed presence there as a concession of Mexican land and Anglos' right to claim. The liberal Mexicans had not discouraged the Anglo presence because it helped the economy along the border, but they never meant to relinquish the territory. Anglo-Americans clung to the spurious claim and continued to move southward and westward, eager to dominate the trading routes between Saint Louis and Santa Fe and between New Orleans and Brownsville. They figured that access to the strategic location of the two ports of entry, the land one in Laredo and the port of Brownsville, would secure the trade routes. The Anglo Texans also had large cattle holdings that they had acquired, in some cases illegally, and they intended to seize the Texan land (Hinojosa 1983: 49).

Laredo was not directly involved in the disputes, but it suffered indirectly because of the hostilities. When the Texas revolution became a reality in 1835, the Mexican troops in the *presidio*, which were supposed to protect Laredoans from Indian raids, were pulled out for the fight. The mayor pleaded for support from the government of Santa Anna but none was given. The consequence was twenty-six murders and a thousand head of livestock stolen by the Indians. In 1837, ten Mexican soldiers were killed during a battle between Texans and Mexicans outside Laredo and the fighting did not abate. The Mexican government accelerated their offensive as they prepared to retake Texas, so the Mexican forces abandoned the protection of the border (Hinojosa 1983: 50-52).

The demographic and economic data shows the negative impact of the Texas revolution on Laredo between 1835 and 1837. The population dropped from 1,979 to 1,736 when it should have risen in the two-year span. The number of sheep and goats dropped from 5,800 to 1,500 and the horses from 548 to 100. School closed during the summer of 1835, struggled in 1836, and closed in 1837 as mentioned earlier (52).

1.2.3. 1846-1880

1.2.3.1. Population and Politics: Laredo vs. the Border

The annexation of Texas as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 transferred the political governance of all the territory north of the Rio Grande from Mexico to the United States. This complete shift in political power impacted every facet of life in Laredo. Roberto Ramón Calderón's (1993) *Mexican Politics in the American Era, 1846-1900: Laredo, Texas*, focuses on the political events that transpired during the latter half of the 19th century and the ramifications that these had on the citizens of Webb County and Laredoans in particular. Calderón has chronicled the shifts in political power, the reluctant but necessary cooperation of the Mexican elites with the American leaders of the new political system, the change in demographics, the economy, education, and occupations to name a few categories.

The greatest demographic change in Laredo occurred when the Rio Grande was declared the border between Mexico and the United States. Prior to the treaty, Laredo was divided by the river, with a west and east bank that were regarded as two parts of one city. When Laredo on the east bank was declared United States property, many Laredoans whose political allegiance was to Mexico moved to the west bank. Laredo

not only lost approximately 500 of its citizens who lived in the west bank but a substantial number of east bank residents who moved to the new city, appropriately renamed Nuevo Laredo (Calderón 1993: 219, 241). Hinojosa cites archival records that indicate the population loss between 1846 and 1850 totaled 718 citizens (123).

According to the 1850 census, Laredo was the sixth largest town in Texas, at that time larger than a number of other towns including Austin and El Paso. That was significant given that Laredo had experienced a dramatic decline in population because of annexation (Calderón 1993: 53-54). In 1860, Laredo's population was 1,306; by 1880 it had grown by 270% for a total of 3,521 residents. This increase was due in part to the increased military personnel at Fort McIntosh, stationed there to help defend Laredo from Indian attacks, and to the influx of Anglos because of the annexation and the occupation headed by the federalized Texas Rangers under Mirabeau Lamar's command (Calderón 1993: 217).

Additionally, from 1870 to 1880, Webb County experienced a significant increase in foreign-born citizens, mainly Mexican immigrants. In 1860, 26.7% of Webb County's population was born elsewhere, but by 1880 that percentage jumped to 52.8%, a 100% increase. Of these numbers, only a small percent were immigrants from countries other than Mexico. English, French, Danish, German, Irish, Canadian, Scottish, Swedish, Belgian, Bohemian, Prussian, and Swiss born Webb County residents comprised only 1.5% of the population in 1880 (Calderón 1993: 118). Although Laredo's population grew during this period, the percentage increase of Mexican-born residents was not equal to Webb County's. More specifically, from 1860 to 1880,

Laredo experienced a 16.7% decrease in proportion to Webb County's population, i.e., Mexican born immigrants came to the Laredo area but more settled in the rural Webb County (114).

The opposite was the case for the Anglos. From 1860 to 1870, all Anglos lived in Laredo and Fort McIntosh and none in rural areas. In 1870, only 22.3% of the Anglo population lived in Laredo; the remaining were military personnel stationed at Fort McIntosh. By the late 1870s, the percentage had changed somewhat, with 9% of the rural population recorded as Anglo. By 1880, the anticipation of the railroad and the decrease in cattle raiding promised hope for economic success, and Anglos responded by settling in the rural areas in modest numbers (116).

In the first decades after the annexation, and unlike other cities on the border, Laredo's Mexican elites did not lose their property rights or their social and political control. Instead they forged a cordial, albeit distant, working relationship with their Anglo neighbors. This was due in part to two key individuals: Hamilton P. Bee and Edwin A. Atlee. Bee, a former Texas Ranger and Brigadier General, helped ease the tensions between the Mexican elite landowners and the Anglo commissioners who were first sent to Laredo to settle questions related to property ownership (Calderón 1993: 271-272). The Mexican titled landowners were gravely concerned that they might lose their property since they knew that land fraud had been a common occurrence in Texas during the 1830s and 1840s and still was (Calderón 1993: 267). Atlee was an attorney who successfully defended a number of Laredoans' land grant claims (Montejano 1987: 44). Twenty large land grants were upheld by the Texas Legislature, so the wealthy

Mexicanos “were generally left undisturbed” (Montejano 1982: 36). Bee’s sensitivity to and respect for the Mexicano elites’ social and political structure, largely due to his marriage to the daughter of Andrés Martínez, the mayor of Nuevo Laredo in 1847 appointed by Bee himself, allowed him to mediate between the two factions and resulted in the Mexican elites’ endorsement of the “new order” (Calderón 1993: 271-72). Bee was so appreciated by the Mexican community that he was elected six times to the Texas legislature as their representative, an all time record (Calderón 1993: 271).

Unfortunately, other border counties in Texas did not fare as well as Webb County. Mexican landowners in Cameron and Nueces counties, in particular, lost many of their land grants due to a combination of factors, fraud among them. According to Calderón, Paul S. Taylor credits the “Cortina Wars” that erupted in the 1850s to the Mexican rebels’ retaliation for Anglo injustices (Calderón 1993: 275-76). This rebellion was led by Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, a rancher and soldier born in Camargo, Tamaulipas, and raised in Matamoros. Cortina, the black sheep of his family and a brave and a ruthless champion of the Mexican poor, had little respect for Anglos who mistreated Mexicans living along the border. When he witnessed a Texas Ranger in Brownsville pistol-whipping one of his former ranch employees, an elderly Mexican, Cortina killed the Ranger on the spot. This incident was the beginning of many bloody battles he waged against flagrant racism along the lower Rio Grande Valley. He became a revered Mexican outlaw (Thompson 2007: 7-33). Cortina’s anger towards the Anglo invaders is evident in one of his proclamations which states that Anglos formed, along

with “a multitude of lawyers, a secret conclave...for the sole purpose of despoiling the Mexicans of their lands and usurp them afterwards” (Wilkinson 1975: 81).

Anglo businessmen, professionals and soldiers also gained economic and political strength after the annexation by establishing towns in the Valley across from already existing ones on the other side of the border always close to a pre-established river crossing. Alternatively, they settled and transformed a fledgling rural community into a township. In both cases, they were able to secure land and reap profits from federal contracts and agricultural enterprises (Calderón 1993: 313-314). Typically, once established, the Anglos took political and economic control away from the less powerful Mexican elites and the large number of agricultural working class Mexicans in this area.

The loss of Mexican land rights in the Rio Grande Valley and new settlements by Anglos had an enormous effect on the political, social and economic structures of that area and negatively impacted life for Mexican-Americans for generations to come. It did not take long for racism against Mexicans to flourish in the Valley and other South Texas towns.

By contrast, this did not occur in Laredo because its political and social history differed greatly from its Valley neighbors. Laredo had been established long before the annexation, and the Mexican powerbases were deep and stable. Anglos were not able to lay claim to the Spanish settlements and/or to outnumber and outmaneuver the Mexican elites. Nonetheless, over time, Anglos did intermarry with the Mexican elite or simply settled in and slowly began to infiltrate local politics. The resulting shared governance

between Mexicans and Anglos allowed Mexican elites to dominate Laredo politics in the early years after the war.

However, this does not mean that there were no political or social changes in Laredo. For example, an unusual break with tradition occurred during the very first election in 1847 because the most experienced politicians, like Bacilio Benavides, Florencio Villarreal, and José María Gonzales, lost the two justice of the peace elections to Agustín Soto, a younger and inexperienced Mexican, and to a Texas Ranger, L.T. Tucker, who had arrived in Laredo only seven months earlier. Less than 5% of the population voted in this election that had four Mexicans and two Anglos running for these two JP positions. It was the first sign of a new “unfair and unbalanced compromise” between the Anglos and the Mexicans because Anglos constituted a very small percentage of the population (Calderón 1993: 228). However, the “peace structure” that governed Laredo in the ensuing years was more influenced by class, than by ethnicity or race (Calderón 1993: 229). This occurred because the economic interests of upper class Mexicans were more in line with the Anglos than with the lower class Mexicans. As Montejano (1987) explains, ethnic divisions were secondary to class distinctions (36). On the other hand, the Anglo minority was determined to play a significant part in Laredo’s development, and this did occur slowly in the decades that followed as they and other foreign-born Laredoans married into a few important and wealthy Mexican families. These alliances solidified the “compact” and increased the role they would play in Laredo’s social, political, and economic history in the years to come (Thompson 2000).

Nonetheless, racism of the Anglo-Texan against the Mexican-Texan in South Texas was alive and well during the Civil War years. Jerry Thompson (2000) cites newspaper articles from the *Corpus Christi Ranchero* and the *Brownsville Fort Brown Flag* that document this deep prejudice in cities outside of Laredo. For example, when Laredoans' elected Callaghan in 1863 as state representative Anglo racists in Corpus Christ and Brownsville were furious because their preferred candidate from Nueces County did not win. They were angered that Mexican-Tejanos in Laredo could vote in an election. Blatant racist remarks were printed regarding this election, such as the statement from the *Ranchero*, "The vote of Laredo may be defended, but morally and politically it is a disgrace. We are opposed to allowing an ignorant crowd of Mexicans to determine the political questions in this country, where a man is supposed to vote knowingly and thoughtfully" (58-59). *The Brownsville Fort Brown Flag* printed the following:

...for the lower order of Mexicans not only consider a nigger equal with themselves, but they actually court the company of the Negroes. A Negro can marry with a Mexican, and he can hold office with them, and they always assist a runaway slave to escape from his master. It is inconsistent with our laws or our institutions that Mexicans should have the same political rights in this state as Americans. (59)

Although historians agree that Laredo did not suffer from the blatant racism of the Valley, Calderón (1993), unlike other historians, proposes that "ethnic antagonism" was prevalent in Laredo during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He claims that Anglos used a double standard for Mexicans, marking a difference between lower and upper classes, while Mexican elites navigated that double standard as necessary, as long

as it served their interests (315-316). He cites the Benavides family, brothers Santos, Refugio, and Cristóbal, who fought in the Civil War as examples of individuals who were from the upper class and used this advantage to serve as officers in the Confederate Army. He asserts that their interest in retaining land caused them to shift loyalties from Mexico to the United States because they were unwilling to migrate to Mexico (313).

Montejano (1987) cites the memoirs of Laredo County Judge José María Rodríguez who wrote that some Americans wanted to “clean out the Mexicans. They would rant at public meetings and declare that this was an American country and the Mexicans ought to be run out” (31). But they had little success. Laredo had no free land, and only some Anglo professionals and merchants established businesses there soon after the annexation (31).

1.2.3.2. Education after Annexation

Education did not take a stronghold, even after the annexation (Wood 2004: 160). In fact, the Texas Almanac of 1861 notes that Laredo exhibited “reluctance” to the idea of educating its children (Wright 1992: 244). Children’s school attendance rate in 1860 was only 13.7%, a decline from 1850, although the definition of school attendance might have changed over time and affected the data reports. The illiteracy rates increased from 1850 to 1860, from two thirds to three fourths of the population during this decade. Illiteracy was particularly severe among women, more than half of whom could not read or write. Illiterate men were either unemployed or were working in jobs that required little to no skills. Popular occupations for approximately half of the

unskilled workers included domestic or agricultural work. The unskilled laborers worked as shepherds, cart men, or servants (Hinojosa 1983: 78).

In 1867, the teacher on the Laredo payroll was replaced with a policeman, evidence of the little value given to education during this period of strong military presence in Texas (Wright 1992: 312). Ironically, in 1869, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Prime, who was the commanding officer of Fort McIntosh and the commandant of Laredo, struggled to fill the Webb County offices and complained that it was due to the small number of people that could speak and write in English or Spanish (313).

However, by the 1870s school attendance in Webb County increased, probably due to the Texas state constitution of 1876. Anglo attendance increased by 11.6% and Mexican attendance by 10.2% from 1870 to 1880 (Calderón 1993: 200). Since Laredo was primarily a Mexican settlement, the majority of the school age population under 21 years of age was Mexican, but a greater percentage of the Anglo population of that age went to school. More specifically, 10 to 12% fewer Mexican children under the age of 21 attended school than Anglos, i.e. one fifth of Mexican children compared to one third of the Anglos (201).

Because public education was spotty prior to 1881 due to the volatile economic times, the ravages of Indian raids, wars, and drought, Laredo's elite, if they were to educate their children, were going to have to rely on their own resources. Key players in this effort were Raymond Martin and Santos Benavides. Martin, a French immigrant who came to Laredo with little resources, became an extremely successful businessman. By 1860, he had become the richest man in Webb County and by 1873 he dominated

Laredo politics (Thompson 1986: 114). Benavides was a military hero who entered politics in 1856 and served as mayor, county judge, and state representative during the next three decades (113). Through Martin and Benavides' efforts, the Ursuline nuns from San Antonio came to settle in Laredo and completed construction of a convent and school in 1869. Although the congregation experienced financial challenges in the beginning, by the late 1890s the school prospered and offered the daughters of elite families in South Texas and Mexico an opportunity to study. The Ursuline nuns also taught at St. Peter's School, which belonged to St. Peter's parish and had been authorized by the bishop to serve the English speaking Catholic community. St. Peter's School opened its doors in 1899 (Thompson 1986: 229). Anglos promoted the educational system in an effort to draw more settlers and dispel the notion that Laredo was not progressive. Calderón states, "Since Anglos commonly perceived Mexicans to be backward in order to justify their prejudiced attitudes toward them, it was this same attitude that had to be neutralized by the promotional literature and its choice of language" (Calderón 1993: 636).

In time, other private schools were established, the most successful being Holding Institute, a Methodist school for young Mexican women from both Mexico and South Texas. Founded in 1880, it was initially named *El Seminario de Laredo*. This school, whose faculty and board of directors were entirely Anglo, taught hundreds of young women from diverse economic backgrounds, although the majority of them came from economically disadvantaged homes with the help of scholarships. Holding's student population averaged 250 students until 1900 (Calderón 1993: 638-641). Blanton,

however, notes that from its inception, Holding was open to employing Tejano or Mexican immigrants as teachers of English. English was taught like an academic subject (2004: 25).

The young men of Laredo, for the most part, had been left out of the picture as far as private education was concerned. Justo Cárdenas, the publisher of the Spanish newspaper, *El Correo de Laredo*, was deeply concerned that Mexican children were falling behind socially and intellectually and rallied the Mexican community in an effort to raise funds for the establishment of an *escuela mexicana* (Calderón 1993: 642). Cárdenas' vision pre-dated the tenets of today's bilingual education. In *El Correo de Laredo* he wrote the following as translated by Calderón:

It is urgently necessary that the Mexican child first know his paternal language, the language he hears everyday and that is familiar to him; that in that language he acquire the rudiments of science, because it will then be extremely easy for him to arrive at a judgment of technology. And that facility of comprehension will open many roads in this apprenticeship. Later, in due time, when he shall already know more or less the structure of the mother tongue, he will readily learn the English language and utilize that knowledge methodically. (Calderón 1993: 644)

He was gravely concerned that even after six years of education students still could not translate a letter and were speaking "the most vulgar *caló* of the pueblo." This calamity was created in part by Anglo teachers, he said, who fought the use of Spanish in the schools, stated both students and the Mexican population were idiots, and felt the family was the enemy of the official English language (645). Cárdenas proposed that Mexican-American businessmen in Laredo support the creation of a school that would teach English but would educate the children in other disciplines in Spanish. Students

would then become educated, know their rights and not fall victims to exploitation. Cárdenas was gravely concerned that many boys of some estimated 200 Mexican families were vagrants because little will and determination from the Mexican citizenry existed to create a different school model. He created a school committee whose charge was to find the resources, hire the teachers, set up the curriculum, and open as many schools as funding would allow. He was successful and in 1891, a school for boys was opened supported by modest tuitions and donations from civic-minded Laredoans (Calderón 1993: 644-648).

Other *escuelitas* existed, but the majority were in the barrios and offered a minimum education to the Mexican youth. The students attending the rural schools had less exposure to English than the urban students and as a result learned little oral or written English. The public urban schools taught just enough to make the youth employable and serve the interests of the middle and upper class (Calderón 1993: 651-652).

The policy regarding the language of instruction to be used in public school during the Reconstruction allowed non-English instruction even though it was limited to a two-hour period. This was short-lived. The political takeover in 1875 by the Democrats and the abolishment of state superintendency that had been in place under the Republican Reconstruction revoked that policy. However, an English only policy was not immediately instituted. The reality was that local county government dictated how schools were run. Even though the state mandated in 1879 that teachers pass a certification exam in English and prove that they were competent to teach in the

language, local government still determined what the language of instruction would be. In some counties, informal bilingual education continued. It was not until 1884 that the anti-bilingual movement gathered strength and led to the English-only policy in public schools (Blanton 2004).

For adults, the literacy rate in 1880 was the highest for both Mexicans and Anglos. Mexican literacy increased from 19.7% in 1870 to 51.2% in 1880, but for Anglos it went up from 88.9% in 1860 to 96.7% by 1880, largely due to the concentration of soldiers stationed at Fort McIntosh. In sum, as Laredo was due to become the international port of entry with the coming of the railroads in 1881, approximately one out of every two Mexicans was literate while nine out of ten Anglos were (Calderón 1993: 202-204). Although the literacy percentages were almost twice as high for Anglos as for Mexicans, the absolute number of literate Mexicans outnumbered that of the literate Anglos living in Laredo. In the 1880 census of individual occupational structure for workers above the age of 13 in Webb County, the Mexican population numbered 718, while the Anglo population totaled 61 (Calderón 1993). One hundred and eighty Mexicans were heads of household while only 28 Anglos were. An additional 95 head of household Mexicans lived in the rural area of Webb County (1013).

1.2.3.3. Employment and Wealth

Because of this difference in literacy, Anglos were advantaged in the workplace. Professional or public service workers comprised only 2.6%, 1.5%, and 3.8% of the adult population in 1850, 1860, and 1870 respectively (Hinojosa 1983: 127). In 1870,

these percentages included more Anglo than Mexican heads of household but the numbers are so small that it is hard to argue the significance of the differences. For example, 38% of the Anglos (n=3) living in Webb County held professional jobs while only 1% (n=1) of the Mexican heads of household did. By 1880, the presence of Anglos grew and their occupations diversified. They held general labor, manufacturing, personal, professional and trade-transport jobs as did the Mexicans, but 18% of the Anglos held professional jobs, while only 1% of the Mexican population did. Many of the Anglos held military, government or administrative posts, positions that were out of reach for most Mexicans (Calderón 1993: 988-89). See Table 1 below.

OCCUPATION	MEXICANS		ANGLOS	
Agriculture	14	7.8 %	0	
Domestic	1	.6 %	0	
General labor	53	29.4 %	2	7.1 %
Manufacturing	27	15 %	8	28.6 %
Personal	4	2.2 %	2	7.1 %
Professional	2	1.1 %	5	17.9 %
Trade-transport	20	11.1 %	8	28.6 %
Unemployed	59	32.8 %	3	10.7 %

Table 1. Comparative general occupational structure of Mexican and Anglo heads of household in Laredo, 1880.

Source: U.S. federal manuscript census schedules, 1860-1880.

Roughly 20% of Mexican women were listed as heads of household in Laredo in 1860 and 1870. By 1880, that figure increased to almost 26.7% (n=48) unlike the rural areas where the percentages ranged from 6% to 10% from 1870 to 1880. Most likely, single women heads of household sought refuge in the city for security and employment reasons (182). In contrast, only 7.1% (n=2) of Anglo women identified as heads of household. Thus Mexican women were more likely to be employed than Anglo women (Calderón 1993: 206).

The occupational list of the U.S. federal manuscript census schedules for Webb County, 1860-1880, identifies 50 individual occupations of the Mexican population. Forty-seven of the occupational categories have very low percentages. The remaining three top categories are 1) “no record” 2) laborers, and 3) shepherders or servants as noted in Table 2 (Calderón 1993: 1000).

OCCUPATION	1860	1870	1880
No record	33.0%	48.3%	49.3%
Laborers	21.3%	17.1%	20.8%
Servants	11.2%	2.2%	2.8%
Shepherders	1.0%	9.3%	9.5%

Table 2. Occupations of Mexican population in Webb County, 1860-1880.
Source: U.S. federal manuscript census schedules, 1860-1880.

The next highest percentages are cart men and vaqueros in 1870, at 7.6% and 6.3% respectively. Only one teacher (.5%) is identified in 1860 and none in 1870 or

1880 and one lawyer (.1%) in 1880. No other professional occupations are listed (Calderón 1993: 1000).

Other U. S. federal census records break down the Mexican population into Texas-born and Mexico-born for the same period, and these records do have an “unemployed” category. Both report a high percentage of unemployment, with the Texas-born population having a higher unemployment rate than the Mexico-born. The Anglo population census figures for the unemployed are also presented below. The percentages and numbers for each category and year are based on the entire population occupational structure for that year. For example in 1860, 47 out of 136 Texas-Born Mexicans, or 34.6% residing in Webb County that year were unemployed as noted in Table 3 (Calderón 1993: 1002-1005).

ETHNICITY	1860	1870	1880
Mexicans Texas Born	34.6% (N=47 of 136)	54.8% (N=109 of 199)	56.1% (N=125 of 223)
Mexicans Mexico Born	29.5% (N=18 of 61)	42.2% (N=89 of 211)	46.3% (N=229 of 495)
Anglos Texas Born	66.7% (N=2 of 3)	100% (N=4 of 4)	70% (N=7 of 10)
Anglos Non-Texan Born	4.0% (N=1 of 25)	1.1% (N=1 of 91)	43.1% (N=22 of 51)

Table 3. Unemployment rates for Webb County, 1860-1880.
Source: U.S. federal manuscript census schedules, 1860-1880.

The Anglo population, which totaled 28, 95, and 61 persons for 1860, 1870, and 1880 respectively, was largely military, with 80 of the 95 individuals in 1870 belonging to that category. Unfortunately, the census for 1870 lists 47% or 29 Anglo citizens under the “no record” category, so no data exists that can help us interpret what their occupation was or whether they were unemployed. The overall data for “General Occupational Structure” 1860-1880, regardless of ethnicity, records an alarming rate of unemployment, 62.5%, 63.9%, and 68.9% of Laredo’s entire population for 1860, 1870, and 1880 respectively (Calderón 1993: 994).

According to Calderón, personal wealth and real estate data indicate that a small percentage of Spanish surnamed individuals had significant wealth compared to Anglos, and as a result, Anglos held a stronger power base than the greater majority of the working class Mexicans. A few Mexican elite families did partake of the political and social power, but not in as great a numbers as their Anglo counterparts (Calderón 1993: 207).

Calderón defends his argument by referencing numerous tables that list the real estate and personal wealth of Laredoans in 1860 and 1870. In real estate value, 98% of Spanish surnamed Laredoans reported having below \$500 in 1870 while 87% of non-Spanish surnamed individuals reported under \$500 (Calderón 1993: 984-985). However, a close look at the figures shows that only two non-Spanish surnamed Laredoans owned property of value, one \$3000 and the other \$500, while eight Spanish-surnamed had above \$500 with three above \$2000. This data suggests that percentages should not be used to argue that Anglos in the 1860s and 1870s had more political and

social power, since the numbers clearly show that more Spanish surnamed individuals possessed high real estate and personal wealth than Anglos.

Regarding personal wealth, Calderón reports that only two individuals, one Spanish surnamed and one not Spanish surnamed, had significant holdings with the latter at a personal estate value of \$21,000 in 1870 and the Spanish surnamed individual at \$11, 345 (Calderón Tables 3.18 and 3.20: pp. 983, 985). Seven other Spanish surnamed individuals are listed as having a personal estate value above \$1000 in 1870. The remaining 443 residents (87.7%) had no personal estate value. Eighty-two percent of non-Spanish surnamed Laredoans were also identified as having no personal estate (Calderón 1993).

However, upon further research of the primary sources, the U.S. Federal Census records for 1870, I found that the number of Laredoans who had significant wealth or amounts above \$1000 for both Spanish and non-Spanish surnamed was much greater. Twenty one, not eight, Spanish surnamed Laredoans reported having substantially more than \$1000, e.g. Nicolás Sánchez, \$18,418; Cayetano de la Garza, \$11, 560; Sisilio Lopes, \$7,074; Porfirio Benavides, \$6,000; Cristóbal Benavides, \$5,000, and Julián Quiroges, \$4,352. Non Spanish-surnamed Laredoans with wealth above \$1,000 numbered nine, not two as Calderón listed. His list does not include Raymond Martin, with personal wealth listed at \$21,475. Since Calderón includes Callaghan, who is Irish, at \$21,000, then it seems logical to assume that Martin, of French descent, should have been included. The remaining non-Spanish surnamed individuals in the census records

include former residents of Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, Kentucky, one Bohemian and another Irishman.

1.2.4. 1881-1930

1.2.4.1 The Railroad Arrives: Prosperity at a Price

The most significant event in Laredo's history in the latter part of the 19th century was the arrival of the first railroad in 1881. Laredo had already established a reputation for itself as a gateway city for trade between Mexico and the United States, but it was not easily accessible from the rest of the United States. The convergence of four railroad systems in Laredo, however, changed that forever and profoundly impacted Laredo's financial, political, and demographic landscape. The *Texas Mexican Railroad* arrived from Corpus Christi on September 10, 1881 followed by Jay Gould's *International and Great Northern* from St. Louis via San Antonio in December of that same year. By the summer of 1888, Mexico's *Ferrocarriles Nacionales*, which began in Mexico City and connected via San Luis Potosí, Saltillo, and Monterrey, arrived in Laredo. The *Rio Grande and Eagle Pass*, a much shorter rail line that served to carry coal from the Santo Tomás coalfield in North Laredo to San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Mexico, was completed in 1885 (Calderón 1993: 563-564, Hinojosa 1983: 117).

These series of events contributed to a dramatic population growth, economic opportunities, health issues, shifts in power and political alliances, and development of Anglo dominance over the Mexican community during the post railroad years. Promotional literature solicited investors, citing the enormous opportunities in sheep raising, mercantile business, trade, and other businesses in Laredo and Webb County

(Green 1999b). Soon entrepreneurs seeking to increase or make their fortune realized that Laredo stood at the brink of economic development, particularly in commerce, agriculture, and industry. The result was a huge influx of Anglos as well as Mexicans and other foreigners. Laredo's population grew from 2,073 in 1870 to 11,319 by 1890. By 1910, Laredo boasted 14,855 citizens (Hinojosa 1983: 19).

The population tables for Webb County document the large population increase in this area as well, particularly from 1870 to 1880, when the numbers grew from 2,615 to 5,273 in ten years (Calderón 1993: 960). *The Laredo Times* bragged that the population had grown 60% in one year, from 3600 in 1880 to no less than 6000 in 1881 (Calderón 1993: 583).

Political alliances quickly formed that benefited those in power, such as city council members, many of whom were "old" Mexican and Anglo elites. In particular, deeds to city blocks were awarded to the politicians in anticipation of the increased value of city land and under the guise of compensation for their services to the city. The principal beneficiaries were supporters of Raymond Martin, men such as Antonio Bruni, Atanacio Vidaurri, Darío González, Charles F. Shea, Hermann Poggenpohl, and Rosendo García. Some of the most prominent families, like the Martins and Benavides, however, controlled vast real estate, including city and ranch lands, and they were not about to sell their property to newcomers, particularly when there was a land shortage expected due to the increased growth brought about by the railroad. Their intent was to charge high rents (Calderón 1993: 587-588).

Newly arrived Anglos seeking to make their fortunes in Laredo balked at the exorbitant rentals. They found their spokesperson in James Penn, the founder and editor of the *Laredo Times*, who harshly criticized the established Mexican elites for looking out for their own personal interests at the cost of Laredo's future (Calderón 1993: 589). Penn was keenly interested in attracting new Anglos to settle in Laredo and changing the existing political and social hegemony that he believed was responsible for Laredo's lack of progress. His veiled racist editorials, according to Calderón, proposed an agenda for a prosperous Laredo although his concern was not for the poor Mexican worker but for the newly settled Anglo businessmen seeking to make a prosperous living (1993: 591).

Penn's power through the press supported many other Anglo agendas. His early editorials consistently praised the Anglo and German business practices while criticizing the Mexicans' traditional ways of doing business. As an example, Penn criticized the Mexican transportation workers' "one mule carts" stating that they simply could not compete with the modern German transportation wagon teams (Calderón 1993: 595). The alliances between the Anglos and new German immigrants also quickly formed because of the affinities of language and culture (593).

Penn aggressively sought capitalists who could improve Laredo's city and utility services; however, Raymond Martin held a tight political rein and gained control of gas and water services in concert with a number of family members and some Anglo investors of the Texas Mexican railways (Calderón 1993: 601). In a relatively short time, Anglos, both old and newly settled, began to establish significant power in the city.

In 1888, the Laredo Improvement Company was formed with an all-Anglo board of directors, and although Martin was not on it, his closest business partners were. Not one Mexican sat on the board (610). Thompson's (1986) pictorial history visually documents the enormous influence of the Laredo Improvement Company, which was "one of the largest land corporations in the nation" and promoted commerce and industry in Laredo (24). Their ventures included the construction of several hotels, Laredo's Masonic Hall, the Laredo Opera House, the Deutz Brothers' hardware, crockery, and glassware store that eventually expanded into other states, and the electric railway cars (24-25).

Calderón (1993) argues that an increased Anglo racist attitude developed by the 1890s citing as an example the creation of the *Heights*, a new residential community developed for the Anglo population. Real estate deals made by the Anglos of the Texas Mexico Railroad, principally A. C. Hunt and William J. Palmer, the principal investors of the railroad along with other Anglo investors and relatives, secured 41 lots. These were located in the same eastern area of town, apart from their Mexican neighbors. The development of the Heights residential area marked the first physical separation of the Anglos and Mexican populace (578). However, the assumption that this event led to the creation of an Anglo racist attitude, as Calderón suggests, is based on the Anglo history in other parts of the state. The truth of the matter is that these transactions had the blessing of Raymond Martin and his crony, then mayor Porfirio Benavides. Investment in Laredo, as railways, was good business for everybody, but particularly for those already in a position to profit by it. Calderón (1993) points out that in business ventures, the Anglo community excluded Tejanos whether they were of the old guard, newly

arrived, or even their own Mexican brothers-in law (611-612). Mexican elites may not have joined their particular ventures, but enough of them held positions of power, either in real estate property, ranching, or politics not to be left idly by.

In politics, Anglos were determined to take control of city and county affairs, but they would have to share that power with the Tejanos. Traditional studies painted a picture of Tejanos as disinterested players who “sold their vote for a song (or beer or ice cream)” (49). De León (1982) argues that much of the early history of Tejano political activism, or lack thereof, has been misguided. Tejano politicians may have been unable to hold high positions at the state level due to the strength of the political machine that oppressed Tejanos across the state, but they were far from passive political participants. They actively participated in the political process and understood that political control, particularly at the local level, impacted their lives directly (48-49).

The infamous Laredo election of 1886 is a perfect example of this. The election race between the two political parties, both composed of Anglos and Tejanos and popularly referred to as the *Botas* and the *Guaraches*, resulted in a violent riot which left at least thirty dead, many wounded, and the *Botas* in power (Thompson 1986: 183). The *Guaraches*, a reform party started in 1884, were determined to bring down the Democratic Party led by Raymond Martin and his cronies. C.C. Pierce, one of the reform leaders, held a *guarache* (i.e., a sandal) up in the air during a public campaign meeting in October 26, 1884 and declared in Spanish, that the lower class had been oppressed long enough. Among the prominent reform leaders were Juan Benavides, Refugio Benavides, W. H. Mowry, John Grant, H. Douglass, and J.O. Nicholson.

Thompson notes that C.C. Pierce spoke to the public in eloquent Spanish while Juan Benavides did likewise, but in English (1986). This small fact suggests that these political leaders were determined to highlight class as the issue of political reform and not ethnicity. Soon after Pierce's political speech, the Martin Democrats began to be referred to as the *Botas*, a symbol of the oppressor.

Calderón (1993) argues that in spite of the bi-ethnic composition of the parties, the election of 1886 heralded a political period of disproportionate Anglo representation and marked the end of the Tejanos' control of politics that had begun to diminish as early as 1881. However, it should not be overlooked that Anglos have always been a minority of the population of Laredo. Calderón's own reference to the U. S. federal manuscript census schedules record that in 1880, only 91 of 804 Laredoans, or (11%) did not have a Spanish surname (967). Anglo representation even in a few political offices would generally be disproportionate to the general population because of their small overall numbers.

Anglos participated in politics because they were as well prepared as the Mexican elite to do so. As De León notes, the upper class Mexicanos have always participated in the political process in larger numbers than those from the lower class, as would be expected due to their level of education and economic advantage (48). Both Anglo and Tejano politicians were likely literate, ambitious, and probably to a varying degree more educated and economically advantaged than those of the lower class, who were predominantly of Mexican heritage.

One might argue a different scenario, contrary to Calderón's position that the ethnically disproportionate 1886 elections represented Laredo Tejanos' political demise. Perhaps Anglos had initially little choice except to allow the Tejanos to participate. To assume that the Mexican elite would fold their hands and allow Anglos to take over politics with little struggle underestimates Laredoans' political resolve. Calderón ignores the fact that the majority of the voters were Mexican and might have been persuaded to vote for an Anglo only if the Mexican elite in power indicated that it was safe or wise to do so.

In 1886, another bitter political battle was fought in the city council chambers. An Anglo *Guarache* city marshal, Stephen Boyard, had been charged with corruption, misconduct and failure to do his job because he had not enforced the anti-gambling city ordinance. The *Botas* wanted him ousted, and J. J. Haynes, an Anglo and *Guarache* alderman, defended Boyard vigorously, making several motions to drop the charges, all of which were voted down by the majority *Bota* councilmen. In a desperate attempt to defend Boyard, Haynes raised the language issue, stating that a number of sitting aldermen were Spanish monolingual and should not be allowed to vote because they did not understand the evidence. Haynes accused Julián García, Rosendo García, Tomás Villastrigo and Eloy Arguindegui not of being illiterate, but of not being literate in English. Calderón (1993) notes that Haynes felt comfortable raising the language issue because Anglos had comprised a majority on the city council since 1881 and in the county since 1884. Nonetheless, it was foolhardy of Haynes to state that publicly. The majority of Laredoans were Spanish speakers, and a number of the early Anglo settlers

were bilingual (722-723). In the end, Haynes' support of Boyard was unsuccessful. The Bota majority in the City Council had him removed from office (Thompson 1986: 184).

Laredo's growth in the 1880-1900s brought many opportunities to those individuals who had the capital, connections, and education to take advantage of them. Unlike the many Laredoans who partook of the economic prosperity the city enjoyed during these years, common laborers, mostly *Mexicanos* plus a number of undocumented immigrants, shared little of Laredo's wealth (Wilkinson 1975: 377). This poverty level made them particularly susceptible to the harsh elements and health risks that marked that period. As an example, the smallpox epidemic that erupted in 1898 in northern Mexico claimed the lives of many poor Laredoans. Their poor living conditions, their reliance on folk cures, and their suspicion of the health authorities exacerbated the situation, so that the disease could not be contained even after several months of an immunization program. Almost all the children six years and younger who died were those steeped in poverty, living in *jacales* or wooden shacks (Thompson 1986: 214).

The solution was military action that forced all family members to get vaccinated and those who were sick to be removed to a "pest house." Public spaces were off limits, school was canceled, and the belongings of those who became sick were burned. The drastic measures that Mayor Christen and the public health officials took increased resistance among the Mexicanos. Justo Cárdenas, editor of the weekly Spanish newspaper, *El Correo de Laredo*, fomented the unrest alleging in his editorials that those in power were trying to take advantage of them and secure more power for themselves. The situation got so serious that Governor Sayers called in the Texas Rangers. It took

little time for minor skirmishes to develop into serious confrontations that wounded several and ultimately cost the life of Agapito Herrera, a former policeman. His sister, Refugia, was wounded as well as several other Laredoans. With no hope of containing the violence, the Black Tenth Calvary stationed at Fort McIntosh, as well as extra Rangers from El Paso, were called in to take over the city. Incidents of violence still occurred (Thompson 1986: 215). Some rioters attempted to flee to Mexico, but a Colonel O'Horen who commanded the Mexican troops on the border did not allow the mob leaders to escape and instead forced them to return (Wilkinson 1975: 378). At the end of it all, Laredo citizens were deeply upset at the loss of life, health, and property. The epidemic finally subsided by late April 1899 (Thompson 1986: 214).

1.2.4.2. The 1910 Mexican Revolution: Impact on Laredo

The border with Mexico played an important role in the Mexican revolution since it served as the staging ground for revolutionary activity, either the shipping of arms and ammunition or the organization of plots first to overthrow Porfirio Diaz's thirty-year regime, and then to support or attack the other uprisings that followed: Madero, Huerta, Carranza, and Zapata. During Huerta's presidency, Laredo became a hotbed of rebel activity. For example, in 1913, since Nuevo Laredo was firmly under Huerta's control, approximately 500 Mexican and Mexican-Americans gathered for a rally in support of Venustiano Carranza. Mexicans' dislike of President Wilson for his political views was also evident by the mass rallies held in Nuevo Laredo. Consul Garret believed that Laredo was going to come under attack by Mexican federal forces in an attempt to root out the *Carrancistas* (Rocha 1981). Once Carranza was in power,

approximately 2000 Laredoans welcomed him in a week-long *feria* held in May 1914. Laredo experienced a short-lived peace during Carranza's reign. By January 1915, *Villistas* were gathering in the city, trying to recruit unemployed Mexicans to launch an attack on Nuevo Laredo. However, Laredo Mayor Robert McComb refused to let them assemble, in an effort to keep Laredo in line with the U.S. neutral position during the revolution (231).

During this revolutionary period, Laredo experienced a mass influx of refugees, many of whom had come to Nuevo Laredo to flee the conditions in Mexico and find employment in the cotton fields of Texas. For example, in the summer of 1915, thousands of hungry sick Mexicans came to Laredo (Rocha 1981).

1.2.4.3. Labor Unions and the Mutualista Movement

Starting in the mid 1890s and continuing into the 1920s, the voice of the working class in Laredo began to be heard. The *mutualista* movement and labor unions headed by Mexican labor leaders began to mobilize. Nine *mutualistas* organized in the 1890s. One of the most prominent leaders was Nicasio Idar, the publisher of *La Crónica*, the most successful Spanish newspaper of Laredo. He, alongside other leaders, affiliated themselves with the *Guarache* Republican party, the *Club Independiente*, because they believed that the *Botas* Democratic Party led by Raymond Martin had done little to support their cause. The astute Republican Party leaders saw this as the perfect opportunity to align themselves with a strong and organized populist movement that could help them gain victory at the polls (Calderón 1993).

Several members of the *Club Independiente* participated in the county Republican Convention in 1900. Among these were Emilio Flores, secretary; Nicasio Idar and M. Villastrigo, delegates; and C. G. Brewster, chair. Numerous Anglos were present at the convention, among them J. N. Galbraith, the superintendent for the Mexican National Railroad offices in Laredo, D. T. Roy, the superintendent of the *Minera Coal Mines*, and D.D. Davis, the superintendent of the *Cannel Coal Mines*. These labor employers supported the work of the *Club Independiente* by allowing party members and labor leaders access to the workers during election periods. They also found themselves having to remedy the discriminatory practice of paying Anglo workers more than the Mexican laborers since the labor class had organized and decided to participate in the political process (Calderón 1993). Other notable labor leaders included Nicasio Idar's son, Clemente, who alongside his sister Jovita, were responsible for organizing *El Congreso Mexicanista*, a statewide meeting held in 1911 to address and resolve some of the problems experienced by Mexicans living in Texas (Zamora 1993). The combination of Mexican leadership and Anglo support, even if it was politically motivated, resulted in a *Club Independiente* membership that included a cross section of Mexicans, Anglos, the elite and the working poor. The death of Raymond Martin in 1900 further contributed to the *Club Independiente's* success. Over time, however, the *mutualista* presence in the Republican party diminished and the Independent Club evolved into a strong political machine on its own, one which thrived until its demise in the 1970s.

1.2.4.4. Schooling in Laredo

As mentioned earlier in Section 1.2.3.2, in the 1890s, *escuelitas* flourished in South Texas and other places where Mexican Americans became frustrated with the public schools and English-only policies. Laredo was no exception. The *mutualistas* played a key role in supporting *escuelitas* by paying the tuition for those parents who could not afford it, but who wanted their children to be taught in Spanish. The superintendent of Laredo, A. Parker, complained to state officials that many hundreds of Laredoans patronized these *escuelitas* where Spanish was the language of instruction. He indicated that in Webb County, approximately forty *escuelitas* existed and that the public schools could not compete with the private schools because their tuition was so meager, about 34 cents a month (Blanton 2004: 27).

Community control of the educational system, however, came under attack in 1897 when the Twenty-Fifth Legislature ruled that a district system was the law of the state. However, much opposition was raised and many counties resisted, so in 1899 the legislature gave counties some flexibility for community control. By 1908, the Thirty-First legislature caved in to the demands of superintendents across the state that insisted on district control (Blanton 2004: 47-48). One strategy to eliminate bilingual programs was to control the teacher certification program and require that only English-certified teachers could teach. Enforcement, though, proved to be difficult since no laws existed that punished school districts that refused to comply. Particularly in South Texas, local officials ignored the law. In 1910, the Laredo Spanish newspaper *La Crónica* argued that the public school system was “vastly inferior, racist, and culturally insensitive” and

insisted that schooling be bilingual so that students could appreciate Mexican culture, history and the Spanish language (50-55).

1.2.4.5. Americanization of Festivities: George Washington's Birthday Celebration

Perhaps the most significant cultural event that Americanized Laredo's social scene was the creation of a festivity to honor George Washington's birthday at the turn of the century. Prior to this, celebrations of national events revolved around Mexico's history and included *El cinco de mayo* and *El dieciséis de septiembre*, dates celebrated by Laredoans to this day. George Washington's celebration, which took place on February 22nd, was initially organized by a fraternal order founded in 1897, called "The Order of the Red Men." The list of original members was largely composed of Anglos, although a few Spanish surnamed individuals are listed (Green 1999a). These civic-minded citizens wanted to hold some celebration that represented the United States, but they equally understood that Laredo was an international city and wanted to take advantage of that fact. They thought that George Washington was an American hero held in esteem across the Americas, and they also included an international agenda from the start.

Some facets of the celebration present today developed through the years, such as the *abrazo* ceremony at the International Bridge that had its start when the Mayor of Laredo went in a motorcar to pick up the Nuevo Laredo mayor in 1900. Others, such as the Pocahontas festivities, stem from the original attack on City Hall by the Order of the Red Men who dressed as Indian savages. Even though the depression and World War I negatively impacted the annual celebration in the two decades that followed, Laredoans

and the Chamber of Commerce understood the economic value of bringing in visitors from Mexico and other parts of Texas. Consequently, the Chamber stepped in when the Order of the Red Men no longer had the membership to sustain the event. Thus the Washington's Birthday Celebration Association (WBCA) was created in 1920. Under the leadership of Matías de Llano in the mid 1920s and in part due to the oil boom and economic recovery, the event grew and included the addition of the *Noche Mexicana* and the ladies gala events that featured thirteen young girls representing the thirteen American colonies and one who represented Mexico. This gala was the precursor of the George and Martha Washington Pageant and Debutante Ball today.

In sum, George Washington's Birthday Celebration, seemingly an American celebration if one does not know its history, encompasses the bicultural spirit of Laredo. However, it is also important to note that the celebration gave the Anglo community a very influential role to play in a widely visible event, one that helped establish an elitist social order shared by Mexicans and Anglos alike.

1.3. Summary

The history of Laredo reflects the complex and turbulent past of a Mexican people, ravaged by Indian wars and fights for independence and annexation led by the Mexican, Texan, and American governments. Through it all, Laredoans struggled for survival, seized opportunities for trade and prosperity, forged their own Tejano identity, and proudly held on to their Mexican culture and language. Tejano leadership fought racist practices or unjust educational systems through the Spanish press and organized the working class to protect their rights. However, class differences were clearly

marked, with both prominent Mexican elites and Anglos taking center stage in social and political circles. Still for the most part, Anglos and Mexicans alike worked together in a cooperative spirit and capitalized on the strengths of each nation, creating a bicultural environment founded on respect and an understanding that two language and cultures are worth more than just one.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND SOCIOHISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

2.1. Introduction

The studies chosen for review in this chapter have great bearing on this investigation. Some help explain why and how some bilingual speakers use the two languages they know, how the contact between Spanish and English has impacted either the maintenance or loss of Spanish in the Southwest, and what linguistic features of Spanish were most prominent in the speech or writing of the subjects studied. The literature clearly indicates that both social and structural factors greatly influence language choice and use. The review begins with studies that have investigated the social factors found to influence bilingualism in general and then moves to a discussion of those that have influenced Spanish and English language use in the Southwest, such as population density, immigration, socio-economic backgrounds, generational differences, and language attitudes among others. Then studies that have focused on the linguistic structures of language in general and Spanish in particular are reviewed since these linguistic behaviors, such as code-switching and borrowing, impact Spanish language use among bilinguals. Next, the most important findings of synchronic and diachronic socio-historical studies in the Southwest are reviewed since these deal with the lexicon, morphosyntax, and phonology of Spanish used by Mexican-Americans. Lastly, a quick review of the Pan-Hispanic language ideology present now and during the period of this investigation is discussed since this will contribute to the discussion on language attitudes. But first this section begins with the definitions of some of the key

linguistic terminology used in many of the studies that may prove helpful to an understanding of the discussion and findings.

2.2. Definition of Terms in Language Contact

A review of the literature shows that there is little agreement on the terminology used to talk about language contact. The complexity of the issue stems from the many variables that impact linguistic behavior, e.g. speaker's knowledge of one or both languages, length of utterance, phonetic, morphological or syntactical similarities or differences between the languages in question, and social environment, among others (Romaine 1989: 137). The definitions for "code-switching" and "borrowing," in particular, have been the focus of much debate.

Code-switching: Poplack (1980) describes it as "the alternation of two languages within a discourse, sentence or constituent" (224), and most linguists agree that only people who are competent in more than one language can code-switch (Pfaff 1979). Gumperz (1982) defined code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (59).

Borrowing: Borrowing, on the other hand, is used by speakers who may not know the language from which a word or phrase is borrowed. Haugen (1950) defines the process as the "attempted reproduction of one language of patterns previously found in another" (212). Speakers integrate what is borrowed into their own system; this borrowing is a feature of "langue" which is collective and systematic (Mackey 1970; Pfaff 1979). Haugen (1950) was not so much interested in why individuals borrowed.

He focused on the nature of borrowing and identified four types: loanwords, loan translations or calques, loan blends, and loan shifts (230). Although not all linguists agree with the definition of each of these terms, they are generally accepted and used to categorize many of the borrowings found in languages in contact.

Loanword: The importation of both the morpheme and the meaning of a word, e.g. *lasso*, *taco*, *czar*. Sometimes these words are adapted phonetically to speakers' native phonological system.

Loan translation or calque: The creation of a new form, but one that carries the same meaning as the original word, e.g. *rascacielos* (Sp.) or *gratteciel* (Fr.) for *skyscraper* (E.).

Loanblend: Both the importation and substitution of the morpheme so that the words contain a combination of the base and the new language form, e.g. *redbrickhaus* (G.) for *red brick house* (E.).

Loanshift or semantic extension: “Morphemic substitution without importation” (Haugen 1950). Romaine defines it as “taking a word in the base language and extending its meaning so that it corresponds to that of a word in the other language” (1989: 55), e.g. the Spanish use of *atender* instead of *asistir* to mean “attend” because of the meaning of “attend” in English; *librería* for “library” instead of *biblioteca*, *librairie* in French for “library” instead of *bibliothèque*. These loanshifts are due to phonetic similarities and compounded in the last two examples by a semantic similarity, too, since both refer to books in some way.

Nonce borrowings: Borrowings that only occur sporadically and infrequently.

Tag switching: the insertion of words or phrases from one language into an utterance entirely in another language (Romaine 1989). These do not interfere with syntactical rules. Some common examples of tags in English are “you know,” “I mean,” or in Spanish *o sea*.

Interference: The uncommon, “unpredictable, unintentional, and deviant” occurrence of an L1 structure in the L2 or vice versa (Poplack 1983).

Convergence: Similarity in structures that results from the influence of two or more languages that did not share this similarity prior to their initial contact (Silva-Corvalán 1995: 8). Poplack defines it as “adaptations on the part of one language to parallel another (usually subordinate) language by favoring forms that most closely resemble those in the other language and eliminating those which do not” (1983: 121).

Universal Grammar (UG): Noam Chomsky proposed the UG metatheory. Chomsky defined universal grammar as “a system of principles which characterizes the class of possible grammars by specifying how particular grammars are organized (what are the components and their relations), how the different rules of these components are constructed, how they interact and so on” (Chomsky 1979: 180). A more recent definition states that UG is “a set of abstract and general principles assumed to be adequate for characterizing core grammars of all natural languages” (Toribio 2001: 206). The term is pertinent to language contact research because intra-sentential code-switchings are thought to be rule-governed and influenced by “underlying syntactic principles,” a term which emanates from Chomsky’s universal grammar theory (203).

2.3. Social Factors in Language Contact

The debate regarding the forces that induce and the constraints that limit language change in contact situations has a long history. Early linguists, such as Jacobson, argued that structural language similarities largely determine what occurs when languages come in contact, but even linguists who supported that hypothesis knew from their own bilingual experience as children that social factors played a significant role as well. One of these pioneers in sociolinguistics of language contact was Einar Haugen, a Norwegian-American, who published his twenty-year study of bilingual language behavior among Norwegian-Americans in Midwestern United States in 1953. It was the first diachronic bilingual study ever conducted and set the bar for future linguistic studies of this type (Murray 1998). This study included social and demographic data to explain bilingual language behavior and challenged the use of a strictly structural theory to account for it.

His contemporary, Uriel Weinreich, agreed. In his book, *Languages in Contact*, Weinreich (1974) wrote an entire chapter on the “socio-cultural setting of language contact” touching on the elements that he believed influenced bilingual speech production, such as language prestige or stigma. Based on his studies of German and Romansh in Romansh Sutselva, as well as French-German bilingual communities in Switzerland, Weinreich argued that speakers made decisions about which language to use based on the socio-cultural settings in which they found themselves.

Weinreich also supported the theory of “domains of language use,” first suggested by Schmidt-Rohr in his book published in 1932 as mentioned by Weinreich.

Schmidt-Rohr had argued that bilingual speakers made language choices based on nine social domains: “family, the playground, the school (with subdivisions), the church, literature, the press, the army, the court, and the administration” (Weinreich 1953: 87). Weinreich organized non-linguistic factors that influence language contact under different categories. He identified ten divisions and labeled these “types of congruence.” The first type includes geographic areas, i.e. the presence or lack of physical boundaries that exist between two language groups; the second, indigenouness, i.e., the vulnerability of the immigrant language to language interference from the native language, e.g., the usually low number of women in immigrant groups, which leads to intermarriage and thus the increased use of the native language; the third type are cultural or ethnic groups, i.e., the relationship between the groups which influences the degree of shared cultural and linguistic exchanges; the remaining five types are religion, race, sex, age, social status, occupation, and rural vs. urban population (1953: 89-97).

Like his predecessors, Fishman (1965) argued that group membership, situation, and topic dictate what language or languages may be used, but these encompass so many variables that identification of language domains is perhaps the most fruitful way of organizing language choice. The number and type of language domains identified vary by study. Some are organized by a) institutional context defined as “major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings” b) social-cultural dynamics in multilingual settings that are influenced by historical periods, and c) governmental administration defined as “social nexus which brings people together

primarily for a certain cluster of purposes” and influenced by role relationships (Fishman 1965: 93-94).

The impact of social factors on linguistic choices, even in monolingual situations, was greatly advanced by William Labov. His landmark study of the islanders at Martha’s Vineyard found a correlation between the residents’ pronunciation of diphthongs and social factors (Labov 1963). These factors included the interviewees’ attitudes towards living in the area, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity and neighborhood. Those who felt a stronger bond to the area and to the traditional occupations of fishing and farming centralized their diphthongs more than those less connected. In 1966, Labov conducted a much larger and complex study of the English spoken by New Yorkers. His findings put to rest the notion that New Yorker speech variation was unpredictable and disorganized. Instead New Yorkers’ speech was organized by sociolinguistic factors, such as style, community, and social class (Labov 1966).

Another influential socio-linguistic notion centered on diglossia, a term introduced by Charles Ferguson (1959) to describe the relationships between language varieties spoken by a community. He proposed that in multilingual settings, one language variety may be the superimposed or high (H) variety while another is of the low (L) variety. The rank depends on characteristics, such as the function, prestige, literary heritage, mode of acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology of the language in question. The H variety is used by the community’s government and institutions, is regarded as the most prestigious by the community of speakers, is taught in formal educational settings, is stable over a long period of years,

and accompanied by a standardized, extensive grammar structure as well as an inherited and respected body of written literature. L variety languages or dialects lack these characteristics, since they are more likely used only in conversation and informal settings, not usually found in public print, void of a history of written literature, not used by institutions and governments and therefore not regarded as prestigious by their speakers. Often, their grammatical, phonological or lexical systems are a subset of the H variety. In sum, the two varieties have clearly defined functional roles and co-exist with the H variety being used for formal settings (education, religion, government), while the L variety is used for informal settings.

Since Ferguson's widely accepted term was introduced, the definition of diglossia has been expanded to multilingual settings. For example, Fishman (1967) studied the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia using a four-quadrant description: 1) both diglossia and bilingualism, 2) bilingualism without diglossia, 3) diglossia without bilingualism and 4) neither diglossia nor bilingualism. An excellent example of the first quadrant, both a diglossia and bilingualism relationship, exists in Paraguay, where Spanish (H) and Guarani (L) co-exist and are spoken by almost the entire population and used for specific purposes and contexts. The second relationship can only exist in situations where social change is so rapid that an H and L relationship has little time to establish itself. Fishman cites the examples of immigration and large-scale industrialization where "the massive dislocation of values and norms" does not allow immigrants to separate their work and home language (37). The third relationship, diglossia without bilingualism, can exist where the H language is spoken by the group in

power, and the L language is spoken by the oppressed, as in the case of a wartime invasions. In the fourth relationship, neither diglossia nor bilingualism occurs because the speech communities do not have separate roles or spheres of influence and members interact frequently. Fishman acknowledges that this type of relationship is hard to find.

Another focus of interest in language contact studies is the acquisition and maintenance of the language systems of bilinguals. Weinreich was the first to propose theoretical frameworks that could be used to explore the language acquisition process of bilinguals, i.e. how the brain encoded exposure to two languages particularly since the exposure, and thus the language acquisition, was different than that of monolinguals. He categorized bilinguals as compound, coordinate and sub-coordinate. Coordinate bilinguals learned their mother language first and then learned the second one later and in an entirely different setting than the first, e.g. home vs. school. Thus, a coordinate bilingual's brain was hypothesized to store language systems independently. A compound bilingual, by contrast, learned both languages in the same environment and time frame so it was assumed the brain fused two linguistic systems resulting in an interdependent understanding of both languages. The last category, sub-coordinate, referred to individuals who used their dominant language to process their understanding of their weaker language (Romaine 1989: 76-77).

Weinreich's theory led to numerous studies to test whether, in fact, a distinction existed between the way coordinate and compound speakers stored semantic systems. Lambert, Ervin-Tripp, and others tested his hypothesis, but the complexity of the human language behavior has led to contradictory findings. It is believed that although

compound and coordinate speakers' language behavior may be distinct, too many variables influence the way in which bilingual speakers process meaning in the brain. In sum, the theory works to explain strategies a bilingual speaker may use, but not to describe how the brain stores linguistic information.

One debate in language contact research centers around the degree of influence that social factors have on language change. Early linguists such as Jakobson, and even Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) as well as contemporary ones, such as Silva-Corvalán and Romaine, agree that language change occurs in situations of contact when grammatical structures between the languages are similar. However, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that influence of linguistic similarities on contact-induced change is overrated. Citing many examples from historical linguistic studies, they propose that social factors wield a much greater influence than linguistic structural factors and explain why language interference occurs even when linguistic systems are not compatible. "It is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved that determines the direction and the degree of interference" (19). The most influential of social factors is the intensity of contact. If much bilingualism over a lengthy period exists, then much lexical borrowing and moderate-to-heavy structural borrowing can take place, especially in phonology and syntax (50).

In language contact situations where bilingualism diminishes over time, language loss can result. From the time that Fishman first raised the issue of language loss in his work on language loyalty in the United States, this topic has received increased attention. Fishman believed, as did Haugen, that the language resources of the United

States were greatly undervalued and that not enough was being done to support language maintenance of immigrants' mother tongue. Studies have shown that over time some bilinguals lose their immigrant or mother tongue (L1) as they become more proficient in the target language (L2). Factors leading to language loss include the competition for language domains. When the L2 weakens the position of the L1, language loss can occur, and in extreme cases an entire language or dialect can disappear resulting in "language death." This can impact affective factors such as prestige, social status, attitude, and degrees of acculturation (Hidalgo 1993).

Early sociolinguistic research and theory also identified language attitudes as a contributing factor in language maintenance and loss. When the home language is not valued by the society in power, it is more likely that parents will encourage their children to learn the prestige language, resulting in language loss for the second generation (258). In a series of research studies in the 1960s, Wallace Lambert, in collaboration with other scholars, investigated the attitudes of individuals who listened to bilingual speakers' taped reading of passages in two different languages or dialect varieties. These judges were not aware that a perfectly bilingual person was reading the two versions. The procedure used, a matched guise technique, elicited the listeners' perceptions of the speakers' likely personality traits based solely on the recordings. Some of these studies included English and French, English with and without a Jewish accent, Parisian and Canadian French, Hebrew and Arabic, and other language or dialect pairs (Lambert et al. 1966). The matched guise technique was found to be valuable in identifying group biases from certain subpopulations towards certain languages, dialects

or accents used in the studies. As an example, Lambert studied group bias of French and English speakers towards the use of spoken French and English. He found that the English-Canadian (EC) university students rated the speakers more favorably when the language spoken by the person on tape matched their own. The EC speakers thought the speaker more intelligent, educated, friendly, or trustworthy when he spoke English and less so when he spoke French. However, this favorable bias towards the English-Canadian speakers was present even when the university student judges were French-Canadian (FC), which contradicts the expectation of bias in favor of one's own speech. The FC did prefer their language in some categories, but not in all, so that overall they rated the EC more favorably. This is attributed to the fact that the community at large had a negative stereotype of the FCs because English is the prestige and majority language. This fact likely influenced some of the subgroups, a finding that has been replicated in other studies. In a later study Lambert found that French Canadian girls, ages 9 through 18, had a less favorable view of French Canadians than they did of English Canadian speakers (Lambert et al. 1966).

Chana and Romaine's matched guise study (1986) on attitudes toward a Panjabi and English bilingual speaker reported similar results on the subject of code-switching, defined as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz 1982: 59). When speakers code-switched between the two, they received poorer evaluations than when they spoke only in English or Panjabi. In sum, the judges' positive evaluation depended on which language or language variety they deemed more prestigious.

A matched guise study (Gumperz 1982) on Mexican-Americans' attitude toward the use of English, Spanish, or Spanglish speech found higher ratings connected to language prestige. Most Mexican-Americans rated the matched guise bilingual speaker more positively if the speaker did not code-switch and spoke only English or Spanish (Romaine 1989). However, Lambert's matched-guise technique came into serious criticism in later years. Critics argued that a major flaw in the research design centered on the assumption that the speaker who was taped spoke the different languages or dialects equally well. If this were not the case, then the reactions of the listeners could have been influenced by that factor and not their own biases (Bradac et al. 2001). Additionally, research designs required more realistic settings for natural language use through ethnographic studies than the matched guise technique could meet (Joseph 2004). Although Lambert's methodology has been criticized, the results of these studies still have bearing on any investigation of language attitudes, particularly when one language enjoys greater prestige than another. As Romaine (1989) notes, in bilingual or multi-lingual communities, social power influences attitudes towards language and its speakers.

Some studies, however, have found that minority speakers sometimes have a positive attitude towards their own use of their language or dialect. The term "covert prestige" has been used to describe the positive attitude minority speakers have towards the use of their own language or dialect even when the majority group may disparage it. Trudgill (1972) for example, found this to be true in his studies of English working class men. Even though they wished to learn the more prestigious Standard English, they did

not really want to use it in place of their own dialect because they felt disloyal to their own ethnic group.

2.4. Social Factors and Spanish-English Contact in the Southwest

Language contact studies on topics introduced in the early history of sociolinguistics have been conducted on the Spanish-speaking populations of the Southwest. These include the social factors contributing to language choice, maintenance or shift, some of which have been discussed previously, e.g. language domains, intensity of contact, geographical considerations, language prestige, age, generational groupings, and language attitudes.

For example, Hudson-Edwards and Bills (1982), Hernández-Chávez (1993), and Bernal-Enríquez (2000) investigated Spanish language loss in the Southwest caused by English language contact once schooling begins, particularly among New Mexico's younger generation. These studies confirmed that the earlier English is learned, the more the students fail to develop and maintain their maternal tongue (Bernal-Enríquez 2000). Additionally, in a study of five southwestern states, Hudson et al. (1995) concluded that the more U.S. schooling students have, the greater their assimilation into the mainstream U.S. culture and consequently the greater the loss of Spanish.

Factors that positively correlate with Spanish language maintenance include the density of Spanish speakers and the steady immigration of native Spanish speakers into a community (Hudson et al. 1995), sociolinguistic factors that are particularly prevalent in borderland communities. Bills (2005), however, points out that even when language

density is present in a community, language maintenance will not occur unless language loyalty exists in the home and in the community (56).

These studies have implications for my dissertation. Since Laredo is a border community, a steady flow of immigrants and a largely Spanish speaking population should ensure Spanish language maintenance even after annexation, particularly among those less assimilated into the mainstream English-speaking culture. Writers' educational history will be researched as much as possible to determine whether bilingualism and English public schooling contributed to Spanish language loss to any degree. It is anticipated that those who attended Laredo's public schools in the early twentieth century learned English with varying degrees of fluency. The correlation between these individuals' fluency in English and the consequence that may have had on their use of Spanish will be of interest in this study.

When language shift does occur in language contact situations, Silva-Corvalán (1995) hypothesizes that this happens across a "proficiency continuum in the receding language," i.e. across generations. Even when language contact is intensive, radical changes in language structures do not occur. Rather, simplification and overgeneralization of grammatical structures, code switching, and direct or indirect transfers develop because bilingual speakers are seeking ways to reduce their cognitive load (9-10). The author also supports the hypothesis proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that external factors, such as socio-historical ones, can affect language change even if the two languages in contact do not share similar grammatical systems (Silva-Corvalán 1995).

Rosaura Sánchez (1982) in her work on Chicano Spanish posits that the socio-economic status of a minority language group predicts the status of their language and the social interactions between the minority group and the majority language group. These economic and social conditions determine whether a language will be maintained, flourish, or suffer loss. If Chicanos come from the working class poor, they are more isolated and have limited social mobility, which in turn limits their cultural assimilation with the English majority group. Conversely, if they have moved up the social economic scale because of their education or their livelihood, they are more mobile and more likely to assimilate with the dominant culture of English. In general, Spanish language maintenance begins to decline, usually by the third or fourth generation (9-11). However, generational language loss does not always follow the same pattern. Anderson-Mejías (2005) in a long-term study followed the Spanish language use of Spanish speakers from the Rio Grande Valley over five generations. Her preliminary results indicate that language loss in the Valley occurs slowly, most likely due to the constant flow of immigrants.

Other researchers have also found that the South Texas border does not follow the usual generational pattern of language shift from Spanish to English found in the Southwest. Amastae (1982) in his study of language shift and maintenance in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas surveyed 679 college students attending Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas. He used a 133-item questionnaire that investigated a variety of correlates such as socioeconomics, attitudes, educational level and gender to determine if these had any bearing on students' Spanish language

maintenance or shift. The data regarding language shift was mixed. These speakers were not interested in abandoning their Spanish language skills even though they indicated that they knew English better than Spanish, that they spoke Spanish mainly in the home domain, and that they did not have a high regard for local Spanish or their own skill level in the language. In fact, 87% of students indicated that they had studied Spanish at the University. In other words, they were more interested in becoming balanced bilinguals than in losing Spanish for the sake of English. Once they moved up the socio-economic scale, the interest in gaining Spanish skills increased. Amastae states that the positive attitudes that Valley residents have towards the use of Spanish will likely maintain a vibrant bilingualism in the area.

Similar research has been conducted in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Mejías and Mejías-Anderson investigated Spanish language maintenance in 1982 and then replicated it in 2000 (Mejías et al. 2002). Unlike Amastae, Mejías predicted that the positive attitudes towards Spanish expressed by the subjects in the 1982 study, which included students, factory workers, and professionals, would lead to Spanish maintenance, as long immigration patterns did not change significantly. This has proven true. However, the 2000 study found strengthened attitudes towards Spanish maintenance but decreased Spanish maintenance and an increased shift to English particularly for third and fourth generation residents when compared to the 1982 sample.

In a preliminary study of 255 subjects from the Rio Grande Valley, Anderson-Mejías (2005) found that second and fourth generational speakers, like first generation speakers, made use of a variety of registers, but that third generation speakers did not.

This third generation anomaly leads to the necessity of further study. Nonetheless, she concurs that Spanish maintenance will continue along the border because of the need to communicate with the Lower Rio Grande Valley community which experiences a constant flow of immigrants. However, she states that “the use of Spanish appears to change as a generation moves further away from the immigration experience” (11).

As mentioned earlier, language attitudes play a significant role in language maintenance or loss, and this is certainly the case with Spanish and English. After the annexation of Spanish territory by the United States, English became the official language of governance in the borderlands, creating a language power shift that deeply affected attitudes towards the use of both languages. Numerous scholars have investigated attitudes towards the use of Spanish and English in the Southwest. In the early 1970s, Yolanda Solé began to research attitudes towards the use of Spanish among Mexican-Americans. Solé (1973) defines language attitudes as “attitudes towards Spanish, towards features of Spanish such as dialect variants, towards the use of Spanish for intra-group purposes, towards Spanish as an identity marker, towards Spanish maintenance and shift” (2). Attitudes that individuals have towards Mexican-Americans or speakers of Spanish are not language attitudes in and of themselves, but they likely reflect attitudes they hold about their speech (3).

The results of recent studies regarding language attitudes can help us understand how speakers of Spanish feel about using the language, what degree of connection they have with it and how that relates to generational differences, language power, or language fluency. For instance, Solé’s 1973 study of language attitudes of Mexican-

American college students at the University of Texas noted that their language loyalty to Spanish was high, but that it did not diminish the students' desire to develop proficiency in English to prosper economically and socially in the United States. Also, regardless of the generation, the majority of these college students expressed strong language loyalty (7). However, respondents whose first language was Spanish exhibited a more intense emotional attachment to the language than second or third generation speakers. A further finding was that these students did not necessarily connect language loyalty with behavior, i.e., the determining factor in their use of Spanish was their ability to speak it, not their attitude towards it (11-12).

Solé (1975) also found that even though the majority of the respondents knew Spanish to varying degrees, language shift from Spanish to English was clearly evident, with the greatest factor being intergenerational differences and not language domain considerations. The degree of shift was not the same for all sub-groups. Social factors, such as parental education and connection to the mainstream society overall, accounted for the differences in language shift. In sum, when upward mobility is present, Spanish language maintenance will likely decrease.

Rivera-Mills' (2000) language attitude study of Spanish speakers in Fortuna, California found similar results regarding the degree of language loyalty across generations. Participants were asked to respond to attitudinal statements or open-ended questions regarding the following: first, whether they thought it was important for them to maintain their Spanish language; second, whether they preferred to speak Spanish rather than English; and third, whether they needed to speak Spanish to be Hispanic. In

general, Rivera-Mills found a clear relationship between social class parameters and Spanish language ideology, with the lower classes exhibiting stronger language loyalty than upper class Hispanics who preferred to speak English to Spanish. Generational factors also played an important role. Second generation Hispanics felt a stronger need to maintain their Spanish than first or third generation participants.

Other studies have focused on attitudes regarding code-switching. Zentella (1981) in her study on Puerto Rican children in New York City's *El Barrio* found that parents held deficit attitudes towards their children's code-switching, believing that it always occurred because their children lacked linguistic knowledge, i.e. they simply did not know how to say something in one language or they forgot it, and therefore they switched. No other considerations for the code switching were contemplated.

Another study conducted by Romaine (1989) indicated that attitudes towards code-switching were influenced by the "differential power of particular social groups" in multilingual societies (258). When institutional support increases for the less privileged language group, negative attitudes towards that language use can diminish. In Texas and California, for example, code-switching of English and Spanish originally was regarded as negative by monolingual and bilinguals alike; however, as the political power base of these groups increased, a greater variation of language attitudes towards it evolved (García 2003; Gumperz 1982).

Other variations in attitudes towards code-switching were found by Toribio (2001) in her study of four bilinguals living in Santa Barbara, California. Their attitudes towards code-switched discourse varied and these determined to a great extent whether

they chose to code-switch or not. Those who believed code-switching was stigmatized did not use it, while those who found value in doing so for affective reasons or because it served as an identity marker were frequent code-switchers themselves.

Geography also influences these language attitudes, a factor that has bearing on my investigation. Hidalgo (1993) conducted a language attitude/loyalty study in the border city of Chula Vista, California. Her interest was in determining how different age speakers felt about speaking Spanish, whether it was useful, an identifier of Mexico, or personally important to them. The results indicated that speaking Spanish played a significant role in their positive identity as Hispanics, particularly among the older generation. The school age generation did not demonstrate strong personal attitudes about Spanish, probably because of the displacement of Spanish in their school settings. However, both age groups considered Spanish as prestigious a language as English and accepted their use and connection with it regardless of the view of non-speakers about it. In summary, Hidalgo found that although some of the “values and functions” may have diminished slightly, border speakers have a different attitudinal relationship with the language than speakers in other parts of the country. Speaking Spanish on the border has practical and real value to border residents and positively affects their ethnic identity (59-67). Hidalgo hypothesizes that Spanish language is maintained along the border because neither Spanish nor English hold the upper hand. In other words, Spanish language loyalty and language use are strongly correlated (50-51). These findings contradict Solé’s (1975) findings, but the difference, as Hidalgo states, is likely

attributable to geography since Hidalgo's subjects lived in a border city while Sole's lived in Austin, Texas, approximately 250 miles from the border.

These research findings regarding social factors that impact language maintenance or loss, such as language attitudes, immigration patterns, population density, generation, education, gender and others, will be considered when analyzing Laredo's census records, documents, and correspondence. The documents reviewed will be analyzed for observable language attitudes expressed overtly or covertly by Spanish as well as by non-Spanish speakers. Attitudes towards speakers of Spanish that can be documented through the study of Laredo history will also be reviewed, as these likely influence language prestige and thus language maintenance. Laredo census records should yield important information regarding education, gender, generation, occupation and other socio-economic factors that likely influenced Spanish language maintenance or loss.

2.5. Structural Factors in Language Contact and Code-switching

The exact nature of the language phenomena of borrowing and code-switching in language contact situations has long been debated. Labov (1971) dismissed the idea that any rules governed the language mixing of Spanish-English speakers since no studies had been conducted that disproved his belief that it was an "irregular mixture of two languages." However this is no longer the case. Numerous studies have proven that code-switching is rule governed although there is no universal agreement about how these rules function. The most controversial issue focuses on the operational rules for intra-sentential switching, particularly in the speech of proficient adult bilinguals. As

noted by Pfaff (1979), before her groundbreaking study numerous researchers had researched this topic (Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez, 1975; Timm, 1975; Aguirre, 1976; Gumperz, 1976, Reyes, 1974); however, they had only included small adult samples and had not undergone rigorous standards of analysis. To overcome these problems, Pfaff (1979) researched intra-sentential code-switching and borrowing in Spanish and English based on conversational data of 200 Spanish-English speakers from the Austin, Texas area. She organized her data according to three syntactic criteria within sentence boundaries: point of onset, syntactic structure, and duration of the mix. She found that speakers who code-switch do so because they know the syntactic rules of the two languages. They may not be able to identify or define them, but they follow certain linguistic patterns when they code-switch. Pfaff identifies four constraints in Spanish-English code-switching: functional, structural, semantic, and discourse. An example of a structural constraint occurs with certain verbal constructions. In both English and Spanish, non-conjugated verb forms follow auxiliaries. So the structural similarity between “¿*Dónde estás enseñando?*” and “Where are you teaching?” can easily result in “¿*Dónde estás **teaching?***” (274).

Poplack (1980; 1983) in her studies of low income Puerto Ricans living in New York City’s *El Barrio*, a community estimated to be 95% Puerto Rican, identified two constraints that governed their code-switching behavior: free morpheme constraint and equivalence constraint. Poplack defined the free morpheme constraint as one that does not allow switches to take place between bound morphemes and their lexical bases. For example, a bilingual Spanish-English speaker will not say “eat-iendo.” However,

bilinguals will switch words or phrases at junctures where the syntactic patterns between L1 and L2 are equivalent. When these syntactical patterns do not match, the equivalence constraint makes code-switching impossible. Pfaff (1979) cites numerous examples of code-switching at syntactical junctures that work for both languages: Spanish auxiliaries followed by English participles, “*estaba* recorded,” present participles after non-conjugated verb forms, “*voy a ir* shopping,” and Spanish verbs followed by English infinitive complements, “*No van a* bring it up in the meeting” (Pfaff 1979).

An interesting observation that resulted from Poplack’s study was that balanced bilinguals and Spanish-dominant speakers did not code-switch in quite the same way. The former used intra-sentential switching far more than the latter because balanced bilinguals are far more comfortable with the syntactic structures of both languages than Spanish-dominant speakers. Her data showed that Spanish dominant speakers showed a marked preference for tag-switching rather than intra-sentential (Pfaff & Chávez 1986).

The different types of code-switching employed by speakers of varying degrees of fluency was also noted by Silva-Corvalán (1983) who proposed that the term code-shifting, instead of code-switching, should be used when speakers who do not possess equal skills in both languages shift codes. She found that English dominant speakers, when trying to communicate with Spanish dominant speakers, shifted to English when they could not remember or did not know a word in Spanish or when they did not know the syntactic constraints. They sometimes violated the equivalence constraint or free-

morpheme constraint because they did not know enough Spanish to handle the switching correctly.

An additional constraint identified as governing intra-sentential switching is the Functional Head Constraint (FHC), which does not allow code-switching to occur between a functional head, e.g., a determiner, an inflection, and its complement, e.g. noun or verb phrase (Belazi et al. 1994). Toribio (2001) proposes that the FHC governs code-switching to a greater degree than other constraints because code-switching honors the Universal Grammar on which FHC operates. Her study of 104 English-Spanish bilinguals of varying levels of proficiency in Spanish indicated that the more advanced the speakers were in Spanish, the more faithfully they honored the abstract linguistic principles of the FHC. Her findings support previous studies which also indicate that code-switching competence increases among fluent bilingual speakers (Belazi et al. 1994). In sum, the more bilinguals are comfortable with the grammatical principles of the two languages in question, the more likely they are to code-switch using the FHC as the underlying governing principle.

Silva-Corvalán proposes another theory that may explain why bilinguals choose to code-switch and that is their need to lighten their cognitive load. Instead of remembering and using two different systems at all times, bilinguals look for ways to make their speech more efficient by employing four other strategies. According to Silva-Corvalán, these include simplification, overgeneralization, transference, and analysis. In simplification, for example, a particular form X is used in a certain Y context where form Z would usually be used, but the speaker has chosen to substitute X

for Z because the two forms are semantically related and thus compete with one another. In sum, over time the linguistic system contracts and becomes simpler. One example of this strategy is the extension of the verb *estar* where *ser* would be used in standard Spanish. *Ser* is traditionally used to connect a predicate adjective that identifies qualities shared by a group, e.g. *Pedro es grande* like other people are, while *estar* is used to connect a predicate adjective that is applied to a particular subject, not shared by a group, e.g. *Pedro está alto*, a comment about how he has grown, but several researchers have found the extension of the semantic use of *estar* for *ser* in the speech of both Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. Some examples from Michoacán speakers are: “...*está muy grande de edad*,” “*estaba chiquillo*.” However this innovative use of *estar* is more frequent in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States and is thought to be accelerated by English language contact since English has only one form of the verb “to be” (Gutiérrez 2003; Silva-Corvalán 1986).

Overgeneralization is an extension of simplification, except that instead of contracting, the process expands. One example of this strategy is the expanded use of the preposition “en” in Spanish in a noun phrase such as “*en los sábados*” which is influenced by contact with English and not part of Spanish prepositional use (“on Saturdays”).

Transference, also known as interference, as noted earlier, incorporates language features from one language into another. It is most often found in lexical, morphological, and phonological levels but also occurs at the syntactical level. A morpho-syntactic example includes the incorrect use of possessive adjectives in Spanish

when referring to parts of the body as in *Mis manos están sucias* instead of *Tengo las manos sucias* (Sánchez 1982). Interference is often the cause of convergence, the creation of structural similarities in two languages that were not there from the onset and which are accelerated by language contact.

The fourth strategy, analysis, accounts for the preferred use of periphrastic phrases instead of synthetic ones, e.g. *va a bailar* instead of the future synthetic form *bailará*. This pattern has been identified in several studies of Spanish in the Southwest (Gutiérrez 2003; Silva-Corvalán 1995).

In her descriptive study, Sánchez (1982) recorded and categorized rural and urban speech varieties of Spanish in the Southwest, which exhibit phonetic, lexical, morphological, and syntactical examples of the five strategies noted above. Not all of these deviations from standard Spanish are the result of English language contact, but some clearly are, such as the overgeneralization of the interrogative pronoun *qué* for *cuál* as in *¿Qué es tu número de teléfono?* (*What is your telephone number?*) instead of the standard form, *¿Cuál es tu número de teléfono?*

This section reviewed the structural factors of borrowing, code-switching and other linguistic phenomena in synchronic studies. The following section reviews the findings of historical studies conducted on English/Spanish contact in the Southwest.

2.6. Historical Studies of English-Spanish Language Contact in the Southwest

Although preliminary research indicates that no comprehensive studies have been conducted on Laredo's linguistic history, there is research on the history of Spanish language use in other borderland or bilingual communities. These include historical

sociolinguistic studies on lexicon, morphology, syntax, phonology, identity, and language attitudes caused by the impact of English language contact in southwestern states, specifically New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Texas after the annexation of 1848.

A significant addition to the study of 17th century northern Mexico and Texas Spanish is Norris' (2010) synchronic historical linguistic analysis of General Alonso de León's sixteen expedition diaries from 1686 to 1690. Although this study does not contribute to the literature of English impact on Spanish, it does provide a valuable background regarding Spanish use prior to the annexation. Norris found that some of the common linguistic features of American Spanish were also present in Alonso de León's diaries. These include *seseo*, weakening or loss of dentoalveolar consonants, /d/ /n/ /s/ /r/ and /l/ in non-initial position, merger of /b/ and /β/, aspiration and loss of initial "f-", and atonic vowel variation. Other linguistic features found, but to a lesser degree, were *yeísmo*, the aspiration of /x/, and loss of medial voiced fricatives /b, d/. Numerous orthographic irregularities were also found, a common feature since spelling was not standardized until the 18th century.

One of the earliest diachronic investigations regarding the influence of English on New Mexican Spanish (Espinosa 1975), reviewed the history of New Mexico Spanish prior to and after the annexation, noting the impact that immigration patterns, the arrival of the railroad, and the influence the American culture had on diverse communities in New Mexico. Espinosa posited that public school education negatively impacted the maintenance of the Spanish language among the younger generation and led to Spanish

language loss. Conversely, older residents of New Mexico who had not attended public school hardly spoke English at all (Espinosa 1975: 101). In all communities the presence of the English language infiltrated the lexicon more than anything because of “actual convenience and necessity” (102). Espinosa’s article includes long lists of Spanish phrases and words that are literal translations of English expressions, as in the example *palo de telégrafo* for *telegraph pole* (107).

Two diachronic studies on California Spanish focus exclusively on the Spanish verbal system, noting changes in tense forms over time. Some of these changes are influenced by socio-historical factors related to the annexation, but others are caused by internal language factors. For example, Acevedo’s (2000) diachronic study of Spanish in the San Diego, California area from 1770 to 1880 compares Spanish verb use prior to contact with the English language. Her research focus is the indicative and subjunctive mood, and she concludes that the process of simplification and reduction of verbal forms had begun to occur in Mexican Spanish, prior to its contact with English. Her findings confirm Silva-Corvalán’s hypothesis of *internal motivation*, i.e. that the “‘model’ monolingual variety” undergoes simplification and reduction on its own, and that these linguistic processes are not caused by contact with another language (Silva-Corvalán 1994). Acevedo’s work documents the instability over time of Spanish perfect forms followed by the future forms, and documents that the process of simplification is part of the history of the Spanish language, not just California Spanish (117-118).

Balestra (2002) traces the change in future tense verb forms in California Spanish from the 19th century to early 20th century, noting the gradual increase in the use of the

periphrastic form (*ir a* + verb) over time instead of the morphological verb form (*cantaré*) commonly used in the early 19th century. Using a quantitative sociolinguistic methodology and taking historical and social factors into consideration, Balestra found that future tense changes were influenced mostly by adverbial context and gender, but not by temporal distance.

Other verbal forms have also been the subject of historical studies on Southwest Spanish. The influence of English contact on Spanish on the periphrastic use of passive voice was documented in Gubitosi's comparative study of Mexican and borderland Spanish newspapers in New Mexico and California from 1855-1950. Gubitosi concludes that the exposure to English has caused the change in passive voice form in U.S. Spanish from the periphrastic form to the passive with *se* in California but not in New Mexico for socio-historical reasons. According to Gubitosi, the significant demographic change in California caused Spanish to become a minority language. Social structures changed considerably making Spanish more permeable to English language contact, resulting in the accelerated use of passive with *se*. Gubitosi also proposes that the process of simplification also contributed to the increased use of the passive with *se*.

A recent study of California Spanish by Moyna & Decker (2005) analyzed seventy-two unpublished documents from the San Diego, California area during the 19th century, some of which were written before and others after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 which resulted in the annexation of Alta California. These researchers carry out a qualitative linguistic analysis to review the "phonological, morphological and

syntactic features” of the dialect from this region (146). The documents used are a mix of public documents (real estate, financial, and marital records and wills) and personal and business correspondence. The writers spanned a variety of backgrounds, from rich landowners to common laborers, with the middle class represented by civil servants or small business owners and clergy. Their literacy levels reflected this variety and resulted in documents that ranged from well-written Spanish to Spanish written by scribes for those who were illiterate. The results indicated that the dialect was very closely tied to Mexican Spanish as evidenced by its lexicon, syntax, and phonology and phonetics reflected orthographically. Its verbal system remained conservative, retaining synthetic future and future subjunctive forms until late in the 19th century, for example, a finding that contradicts Acevedo’s study cited previously. Additionally, the influence of English is minimally evident in the presence of some calques and borrowings, but not enough to affect the Spanish linguistic system (161).

Glenn Martínez (2000; 2008) has extensive diachronic studies on Spanish-English use in South Texas with particular bearing on the topic of this proposal. Martínez researched the morphosyntactic and lexical use in Tejano Spanish from 1791 to 1910 in the Rio Grande Valley (2000) and also studied language attitudes and maintenance in the late nineteenth century (2008). His first study traces the increased use of the indicative verb form – *ra* with modals (MOD-*ra*), with apodosis (main clause) and protasis (*if* clause) (AP-*ra*), and in place of the pluperfect verb form (PLU-*ra*) e.g. *obligara* instead of *había obligado*, and ascribes some of the changes in the verb form use to the major social changes along the South Texas border due to Anglo domination.

Martínez argues that the Anglo encroachment of Tejano land forced the Tejanos to live in more dense social structures, both in terms of geographical space and occupation, which in the case of the vernacular variant of the MOD-*ra* verb form, e.g. *debiera*, *pudiera*, became more common and even withstood the impact of Mexican immigration. He also studied the loss of the imperfect subjunctive -*se* and found it was influenced by “shifting national identities” (viii). In the 1820s, the verb form -*se* was regarded as prestigious because it was associated with the speech of the *españoles*, as opposed to that of the *criollos*, *mestizos*, and *mulatos*. However after the annexation, Tejanos began to switch political and geographical identities, causing a decline of the -*se* variant use.

Martínez further argues that the loss of the absolute construction, (adverbial clauses that do not use subordinating conjunctions, e.g. *saliendo el sol*, ‘sun being out’), during this period was caused by the simplification of the narrative structure in Tejano Spanish during the nineteenth century (2000). Using Giles, Bourhis and Taylor’s (1977) notion of *ethnolinguistic vitality* (EV), defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup relations,” Martínez identifies, categorizes, and rates Tejano Spanish during different periods and in different counties of South Texas (307). He bases his findings on the social context that surrounded the Tejanos, citing historical census data, institutional practices (legal, educational, religious), newspaper language and advertisement use. Thus, he frames his work in a socio-historical setting, arguing that the survival, loss, and/or maintenance of certain grammatical forms reflect the state of bilingualism in the language communities.

His most recent study weds the topics of South Texas history, language attitudes and ideologies, and language maintenance. Citing documents, newspaper articles, and letters written by non-Spanish speakers in San Antonio and the Valley, Martínez brings to light the racist attitude toward Spanish language use that prevailed in Texas in the late nineteenth century. In order to defend their language pride, Tejanos constructed what he terms a “unification ideology” that aimed to preserve Spanish language use and fight attempts to devalue it. In the end, embracing bilingualism resulted from their understanding that English and Spanish could co-exist. My investigation will explore whether racist attitudes similar to those noted by Martínez in San Antonio and the Valley prevailed in Laredo, and if so to what degree.

Fernández-Gibert’s (2001) dissertation on identity and language also explores the breadth of texts printed in the Spanish newspapers of New Mexico from 1890-1911 to keep the Neo-mexicanos in contact with the world and their community. He analyzes letters, poems, manifests, advertisements, and other types of communication to build an understanding of the Neo-mexicano identity during that period. New Mexico was readying itself for statehood, and its residents struggled with the notion of a bilingual and bicultural identity. Archaisms and Anglicisms surfaced in the “American New Mexican Spanish” during this political, cultural, and economic transition. Laredoans wrestled with similar challenges as they forged a bilingual and bicultural identity after annexation.

2.7. Language Ideologies

Inevitably, any discussion regarding the use of Spanish or English along the Texas border brings to the fore the continuing debate over the use of U.S. Spanish. Scholars whose work has discussed the prescriptive approach to Spanish language use and by extension, the negative attitude towards U.S. Spanish by the *Real Academia Española* (RAE) are José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman (2002). Their work explains Spain's hegemonic vision of Spanish, founded on "a determined insistence on the grandeur and universality of the Spanish language" which binds Hispanic nations and must be preserved in its original form (195). Thus, adhering to standard Spanish becomes critical to the fostering of nationalism and pan-Hispanic identity and any threat to it must be eliminated. This is best achieved by ignoring a Spanish language variety that does not conform to standard use, i.e., denying its existence as a legitimate language. To the RAE's dismay, some Hispanic intellectuals have argued that hybrid language varieties such as U.S. Spanish are legitimate. These intellectuals argue that simply denying the fact that multitudes speak another variety does not eliminate it as a legitimate form of communication. Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman argue that the RAE's insistence on Spanish purity smacks of an antiquated monarchical scheme that is more concerned with its own preservation of sovereignty and power than in acknowledging the vitality and legitimacy of Spanish language hybrids (193-211).

In summary, this research investigates whether Laredo area documents exhibit similar linguistic features as those found in these historical studies of Spanish-English language contact in the Southwestern United States or whether they differ in any notable

way. As noted by Nevalainen and Ramoulin-Brunberg (1996), limited information about social and historical factors that influence speech production and hence the written text make socio-historical research a challenging venture. Nonetheless, the variety of sources used in this study to gain insight into the Spanish of the period should shed some light on whether English language contact or other factors influenced Spanish maintenance or loss in the Laredo area.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Historical sociolinguistics presents challenges. As Labov remarks, “historical linguistics can ...be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data” (1994:11). Unlike sociolinguistic studies that focus on phonological variation and/or changes that can be captured through oral interviews, historical sociolinguistics is limited to written documents that sometimes surface randomly and may not represent different social strata. The researcher has little control over what can be recovered unless large collections of written documents are archived or private owners have purposefully or accidentally kept documents that they are willing to share for research purposes. Additionally, it is almost impossible to collect language samples from writers of the lower economic class prior to the twentieth century, because many of them were illiterate. Even when researchers are fortunate to recover written samples from different social backgrounds, they must be careful not to ascribe their findings to the general population because “the concept of a literate society is not absolute, but rather a continuum” (Balestra et al. 2008: 46). Still, with all their limitations, historical linguists can provide important data regarding how oral and written language use has changed over time through a close study of orthography, which contains phonological clues, the lexicon, morphology, syntax, and pragmatics from past periods. Even with its limitations, historical linguistics can contribute significant information regarding language use over time.

This section discusses the sources of data used in this study, how they were collected and transcribed, as well as the methods used to analyze and systematize the information found in them. Section 3.2 presents the data sources, which include correspondence, court documents, newspapers, and census records. Section 3.3 describes the data treatment including the methodology for transcription, linguistic analysis and language use and attitude analysis. Finally, Section 3.4 lists the limitations of the study.

3.2. Data Sources

This study includes a variety of direct and indirect sources of written documents from 1860 to 1930. Direct sources include personal correspondence and court records that document individuals' Spanish language use or their linguistic attitudes. Indirect sources include U.S. Census Records and Laredo Spanish newspapers. The U.S. Census records provide vital statistics about the subjects that help construct family and linguistic histories while Spanish newspapers provide a socio-economic and political history of the society in which the writers lived. In historical socio-linguistics, both direct and indirect sources are vital to an understanding of language use in the past.

There are three collections of personal correspondence, representing two different periods. The first, the John Zirvas Leyendecker Collection, is from the early 1860s and is written by several members of a well-known Laredo family. The other collections, the Clemente Idar and Federico Idar Family Papers and the Rafael San Miguel Jr. private correspondence, are from the early 1900s. The Idar correspondence was written by members of a Laredo family in the Spanish newspaper business, and the

San Miguel correspondence by residents of Zapata, Texas, a town 60 miles southeast of Laredo. The writers come from varied educational backgrounds, represent different age groups, and include both females and males. Some are recent immigrants from Mexico, and others are first, second or third generation border residents. This diversity enhances the interest of these collections

The court records span the period from the 1850s to the 1930s. These contained very few pieces of handwritten evidence that can be analyzed for linguistic features; however, they provide valuable information regarding Spanish language use in public domains. The composition of juries, the cases themselves, and the evidence submitted help create a clearer picture of how Spanish and English interfaced in the civil and criminal justice system along the border.

The extant Spanish newspapers begin in the 1880s and end around 1920. Thus, they provide evidence of Spanish language use for the thirty-year gap between the Leyendecker collection of the 1860s, and the Idar and San Miguel personal correspondence collections of the early 20th century. They also chronicle the linguistic and cultural heritage of Laredo, providing rich data regarding life on the Texas-Mexico border.

3.2.1. Direct Sources: Personal Correspondence

3.2.1.1. John Z. Leyendecker Papers: 1858-1865

The background research on the history of Laredo led to the discovery of the John Z. Leyendecker collection, archived at the Briscoe Center for American History. Leyendecker was a German immigrant who settled in Laredo in 1847 at the age of 20.

He served as assistant quartermaster during the Civil War. When he settled in Laredo, he married into the Benavides family, an influential family of local landowners. Fortunately, Leyendecker kept the letters he received from many of his family members while he was posted in the military camps outside of Laredo or while he was visiting his Leyendecker family members who had settled in Fredericksburg, Texas.

The collection contains thirty-nine letters written in Spanish by members of the Benavides family. The majority of these are addressed to him, but a few are written to other relatives. Other letters written in German are not included in the study. I requested copies of all the letters written in Spanish and organized them by writer and date. Table 4 identifies the writers, their relationship to Leyendecker, the number of letters they wrote, birth dates, generation identifiers, the writers' ages as determined by the 1850 and 1860 U.S. Census Records, and the range of years in which the letters were written. Generation identifiers were based on Rivera-Mills' (2005) categories which define first generations individuals as those who were not born in the United States and immigrated after they were 15 years old, and second generation individuals as those who were either born outside the United States and immigrated before the age of 15 or born in the United States to a first generation parent (114). Thus, Tomasa Cameros Benavides is identified as a first generation writer, while her children who were under 15 at the time of annexation are identified as second-generation writers.

Writer	Relation to Leyendecker	# of Letters	Language Dominance	Generation	Age	Year Written
Andrea Benavides Leyendecker	First wife	8	Spanish	2nd	22-26	1858-1862
Juliana Benavides Leyendecker	Second wife, sister to Andrea	2	Spanish	2nd	29	1867
Tomasa Cameros Benavides	Mother-in-law	19	Spanish	1st	50-54	1860-1864
Santos Benavides	Brother in law	4	Spanish	1st	43	1865
Cristobal Benavides	Brother-in-law	4	Spanish	2nd	18-22	1857-1861
Bacilio Benavides	Uncle- in-law	1	Spanish	1st	58	1858
Ysabel Leyendecker	Daughter	4 paragraphs within others' letters	Spanish	3rd	4-6	1861-1864

Table 4. Description of the Leyendecker collection.

Some additional comments about the writers are in order. María Tomasa Cameros de Benavides was a stock farmer, born in Mexico and widowed by 1860. The 1850 U.S. Census Records lists her five children from her marriage to José de Jesús Benavides as Andrea, Juliana, Cristóbal, Francisca, and Eulalio. All her children were born in what is now Texas but was Mexico prior to the annexation. Tomasa was

probably illiterate since her handwriting is not consistent throughout the nineteen letters of the collection. It appears that three different scribes might have been involved, but no reference to that is made in the letters. Her oldest daughter, Andrea Benavides Leyendecker, married John Z. Leyendecker in 1857 and died around 1863. After her death, Andrea's younger sister, Juliana Benavides Leyendecker, married her former brother-in-law, John Leyendecker, on August 1, 1865, (Brown and Cadena 1993). Ysabel Leyendecker Benavides was the eldest of three children from the marriage of Andrea Benavides and John Leyendecker (1870 U.S. Federal Census Records).

Of the male members of the family represented in the collection, Santos Benavides was the oldest. He was the son of José de Jesús by a previous marriage, thus Santos was a half brother to Andrea, Juliana, and Cristóbal. Santos was a distinguished Confederate military figure in South Texas history during the Civil War. He also held the position of postmaster during Reconstruction. Cristóbal Benavides, Leyendecker's brother-in-law, had a distinguished military career in the Confederate Army, like his half-brother, Santos. His correspondence is written from military encampments. Bacilio Benavides, brother of José de Jesús Benavides, was uncle to all the Benavides included in the collection, and great-uncle to Ysabel. He was a distinguished gentleman and politician, having served as mayor of Laredo prior to and after its annexation. He also served as chief justice of Webb County and Texas State Representative. The Benavides represented in this collection were all "blue bloods," descendants of Don Tomás Sánchez, Laredo's Spanish founder, since Petra Sánchez, the daughter of Don Tomás,

was the mother of Bacilio and the grandmother of Santos and Cristobal (Riley 1976: 35-38).

3.2.1.2. Rafael San Miguel Jr. Letters: 1914-1928

These letters were found by placing an advertisement in *The Laredo Times* requesting collections of letters or historical documents written between the 1860s to the 1930s by residents of Laredo. The letters belong to Laredoan Irma Flores, who provided access to the collection of personal correspondence belonging to her uncle-in-law, Rafael San Miguel Jr. These letters were found in Mr. San Miguel's attic in a locked box when the family was preparing to sell his home located in Zapata, Texas. No one in the family knew of their existence. Mrs. Flores agreed that the entire collection of over 200 letters could be photocopied if the original set would be organized, since the letters were haphazardly stored in the box. This task led to the identification of ten writers whose 158 letters are included in this study. Other correspondence such as greeting cards and postcards that contained no significant linguistic information were not included either.

Table 5 identifies the writers whose letters have been transcribed and contains data regarding their relationship to Rafael Jr., their linguistic profile, and their age at the time they wrote the letters. Age and language dominance were determined by searches of the 1910, 1920, and 1930 U.S. Federal Census Records on Ancestry.com and information contained in the correspondence. Some searches yielded no information.

Writer	Relation to Rafael San Miguel Jr.	# of Letters	Language Dominance	Generation	Age	Years Written
Josefina Benavides Treviño	Girlfriend	111	Bilingual	2nd	14-24	1914-1924
Rafael San Miguel Sr.	Father	13	Spanish monolingual	1st	56	1915
Rafael San Miguel Jr.	N/A	7	Spanish monolingual	2nd	14-19	1914-1919
Benito Martínez	Friend	4	Spanish	2nd	17-23	1914-1920
Esperanza Dilly	Girlfriend	6 Eng 1 Span	Spanish dominant but bilingual	2nd	16-18	1924-1926
Pepa San Miguel	Younger sister	2	Spanish monolingual	2nd	?	1915
Jorge Hava López	Friend	4	Spanish	Unknown	?	1914
Felipe Aguilar	Friend	1	Spanish	2nd	31	1924
Elizabeth Baldrige	Friend	7 Eng	English monolingual	N/A	?	1920-1928
Hortencia Ramírez	Wife	1	Spanish dominant but bilingual	2nd	25	1930

Table 5. Description of the San Miguel Jr. collection.

Additional biographical information for Josefina Benavides and Rafael San Miguel Jr. follow, since their lives provide an important context to understand the collection and the writers' language background. Josefina Benavides Treviño was born in 1900 to José Benavides García and Pelegrina Treviño, both Mexican, who had made their home in Zapata, Texas. José Benavides García had immigrated to the United States in 1875, Pelegrina Treviño in 1885. In the 1910 U.S. Census Record column titled, "whether able to speak English or, if not, give language spoken," Josefina's record lists Spanish. The census also states her father spoke English, and her mother Spanish, which means her father was bilingual, and her mother monolingual in Spanish. The record also states that Josefina could read and write and was attending school at the time. The 1920 census indicates she is the oldest of seven children, was no longer attending school after September 1, 1919, and was a school teacher. Ella Rathmell González, her grandniece, stated (p.c.) that she spoke English very well, was intelligent and well educated. She never married and Rafael San Miguel Jr. was the love of her life. Her own letters indicate that she studied in Laredo at The Seminary, later named Holding Institute, a school run by female Anglo Methodist Missionaries. (For more details about the Holding School, see Chapter 1, section 1.2.3.2.)

Rafael San Miguel Jr. was born in 1900 to Rafael San Miguel Sr. and his wife, Pilar. He immigrated to the United States in 1913 when he was about 14 years old (1920 U.S. Census Records). Rafael lived most of his adult life in Zapata, a town 55 miles southeast of Laredo. However, for part of his adolescence he lived in Laredo, where he worked to establish himself as a pharmacy clerk and a banker apprentice. He began a

romantic relationship with Josefina shortly after his arrival in Zapata, since the earliest letters were written in 1914. In the 1930 U. S. Census Record, he lists his profession as Mexican Consul.

3.2.1.3. Clemente N. Idar Papers: 1875-1938 and Federico Idar and Idar Family Papers: 1879- 1938

A digital library search of the University of Texas Libraries for the Laredo archives helped locate the two Idar collections, Clemente N. Idar and Federico Idar and Idar Family Papers, which are housed at the Benson Center Latin American Collection. Clemente and Federico were the sons of Nicasio Idar, the founder of *La Crónica*. He was extremely active in politics and became an active labor leader who fought racial and class discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Texas. The 1910 U.S. Census indicates that Nicasio was born in Texas and spoke English. This fact certainly contributed to the bilingualism of his children. He married Jovita Vivero de Idar, who was born in Mexico in 1867. According to the 1910 U.S. Federal Census, she did not speak English but was literate in Spanish. Nicasio and Jovita had ten children, all Laredo-born and all of whom spoke English and Spanish: Clemente (1883-1934), Jovita (1885-1947), Eduardo (1887-1947), Elvira (1892-?), Federico (1893-1938), José (1897-1969), Moisés (1901-1954), Juvencio (1903-1947), Lola (1904-?), and Aquilino (1905-1989). The 1920 U. S. Federal Census indicates that by then the family was living in San Antonio. The two collections include letters from all the children except José and Lola. Clemente, Eduardo, and Jovita followed in their father's footsteps, joined the family newspaper business, and took over the publication of *La Crónica* after Nicasio's death.

Moreover, they also started several newspapers of their own. Clemente and Jovita were also well known for their support of unionized labor movements. Clemente played a major role in the American Federation of Labor, serving as organizer, writer, and speaker for the Mexican-American labor movement in the United States. Federico was raised in Laredo but moved to Mexico in his adult life, dabbled in the labor movement initially and then moved into state and national politics. He was assassinated in Mexico in 1938 (Federico Idar and Idar Family Papers).

The collection of *Clemente N. Idar Papers* is extensive and includes letters to his family and business associates as well as American Federation of Labor historical documents, speeches, newspaper articles, photos, and financial and legal documents. The family correspondence was found in boxes 1 and 2, while relevant essays and speeches written by Clemente N. Idar were in box 9. Typewritten letters or essays and letters written in English were included, since they provided important information regarding the bilingual skills of the Idar family or culturally relevant references. Their authenticity was not a concern, since Clemente Idar's excellent public speaking skills in both languages are attested to in the research literature. For example, Zamora (1993) indicates that "by the 1910s Clemente had established his own reputation as a young man on the political rise by his impressive writing and oratorical skills in both Spanish and English" (62). Additionally, the fact that the family ran a newspaper increased the likelihood that typewriters were easily accessible and did not mean that someone else besides the writer wrote the letters. Typewritten letters are identified in the transcription reference heading.

The Federico Idar and Idar Family Papers collection includes letters, some handwritten and others typewritten, by the Idar siblings, as well as other artifacts that document Federico's career as a Mexican Senator. The same process was used to select the letters from the Federico and Idar Family Papers. Boxes 1, 2 and 4 contained letters written to Federico and to other family members; letters written after 1930 were not included.

3.2.1.4. Miscellaneous Letters

This small group of letters includes three writers: Charles Phillips (1915), Josefina Martínez (1915), and Guillermo Sandoval (1898). The first two writers exchanged love letters that were used as evidence in a trial, one written by Josefina and three written by Charles. Their correspondence is transcribed and included in this category rather than with the court records because they were not a product of the courts hearings. The third writer, Mr. Guillermo Sandoval, wrote a poetic journal when he was a young man traveling from Laredo to Pennsylvania with some friends to find employment. It was given to me by his daughter, Laredoan María Eugenia López, in response to the newspaper advertisement. It had been treasured by his mother and has been kept in the family documents for over 100 years, since 1898. Mr. Sandoval's letter has been included because it provides an interesting linguistic sample of someone from a lower socio-economic class who was semi-literate. It was also written at the turn of the century, a time not represented in any of the larger collections.

3.2.2. Direct Sources: Webb County Court Records

Laredo, Texas is the Webb County seat and the largest city in the county, thus, most of the court cases involve Laredo families. The Webb County Court files are archived in the Special Collections of Texas A&M International University's Sue and Radcliff Killam Library. The archive includes civil and criminal cases from the period of annexation to the 1930s. The court records are organized by type (criminal or civil), and are stored in boxes, by date, each case filed in its own folder. Since the court indexes do not contain any information related to the contents of the individual case files, each file had to be reviewed to determine if the records included anything that was written in Spanish or that dealt with the use of Spanish in the courtroom procedures. When such data was found, I took notes, requested photocopies and/or took digital photographs of relevant paperwork that could help reconstruct the case and determine the extent of Spanish language use.

The evidence found and included in the study falls into four categories. The first category is made up of juror documents written in Spanish, e.g. the verdict and recommended sentencing, written testimonies or depositions in Spanish. The second category includes private correspondence in Spanish entered as evidence by the defense or prosecution. The third are newspaper articles in Spanish used as evidence. The fourth are metalinguistic references to anyone involved in the court proceedings who did not know English or who had little facility in speaking or understanding it. This last type of evidence includes depositions by defendants and plaintiffs, testimonies of witnesses, or

verdicts written by jurors. The letters and verdicts have been included in the transcriptions for linguistic analysis.

3.2.3. Indirect Sources: U.S. Federal Census Records

The U.S. census records for the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were used as the source for information regarding the genealogical history, vital statistics, employment, and literacy in English of the writers in the collections. The census records were also consulted to find information regarding Spanish speaking and immigrant population density, educational levels, employment and other factors that are known to impact language use. Other studies published about Laredo that have referenced these census records, such as Calderón's (1993) and Gilberto Hinojosa's (1983), were also used to create a fuller understanding of the language dynamics of the time.

3.2.4. Indirect Sources: Spanish Newspapers

Included in this investigation are twelve Laredo Spanish newspapers published between 1860-1930: *La Colonia Mexicana*, *El Correo de Laredo*, *La Crónica*, *El Demócrata Fronterizo*, *El Diputado*, *Evolución*, *El Figaro*, *El Herald*, *El Horizonte*, *El Mutualista*, *Las Noticias*, *El Progreso*. Two versions of the Laredo English newspaper published partially in Spanish or which contained Spanish inserts have also been included: *Laredo Times/ El Tiempo de Laredo* and *The Laredo Times*.

Kanellos and Martell (2000) have written an excellent reference book on the history of Spanish newspapers in the United States. Information from their book supplemented what was found directly from reviewing the sources and helped to

produce the summary presented in Table 6. The table lists fifteen extant newspapers, thirteen Spanish and two English with Spanish inserts, in alphabetical order, and it provides a quick reference, but a more detailed explanation follows. One of those papers listed, *El Abogado Cristiano Fronterizo*, was not included in this study because the issue(s) could not be found.

Kanellos and Martell (2000) list thirty-two Spanish newspapers printed in Laredo, the earliest dating from 1879. For the period from 1860-1930, they identify twenty-nine but they note that extant copies have been found for only eleven of them. This investigation has found two newspapers not listed for that time period, *El Horizonte* and *El Herald*, which brings the total to thirty-one newspapers in print between 1860-1930 and it also found copies of two on Kanellos and Martell's list, *Las Noticias* and *El Progreso*. An issue of *Las Noticias*, dated November 12, 1927, was in fact located in the Clemente N. Idar Collection of the Nellie Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas. This find also proves that the starting publication date of *Las Noticias* was at least 1927, not 1929, as noted by Kanellos and Martell. The issue of *El Progreso* was located in the Special Collections of the Killam Library of Texas A&M International University, as evidence in the Webb County Criminal Records, file #4965. This issue, dated November 30, 1913, does confirm that 1913 was the first publication year, as noted in Kanellos and Martell. Since *El Progreso* calls itself a "*diario independiente*," a daily independent newspaper, then the 76th issue indicates a start date of September 16, 1913.

Newspaper	Publication Years	Extant Copy Known	Listed as Extant in Kanellos and Martell (2000)
<i>El Abogado Cristiano Fronterizo</i>	1880-1uuu	Unknown	Yes
<i>La Colonia Mexicana</i>	1887 – 1uuu	Last 1891	Yes
<i>El Correo de Laredo</i>	1891 -1uuu	Last 1895	Yes
<i>La Crónica</i>	1909- 19uu	Last 1918	Yes
<i>El Demócrata Fronterizo</i>	1905-1920		Yes
<i>El Diputado</i>	1883- 1uuu	Last 1891	Yes
<i>Evolución</i>	1916-19uu	Last 1919	Yes
<i>El Fígaro</i>	1892-1uuu	Last 1892	Yes
<i>El Herald</i>	1914-19uu	Only 1914	No
<i>El Horizonte</i>	1879- 18uu	Last 1885	No
<i>Laredo Times/ El Tiempo de Laredo</i>	1881-189u	Last 1899	Yes
<i>The Laredo Times</i>	1929-1982		Yes
<i>El Mutualista</i>	1885-1891	Last 1888	Yes
<i>Las Noticias</i>	1927-19uu	Only November 12, 1927	Yes
<i>El Progreso</i>	1913-19uu	Only November 30, 1913, 76 th issue	Yes

Table 6. Updated list of extant Spanish newspapers published in Laredo, Texas.

Evidence of the two additional Spanish newspapers not listed in Kanellos surfaced as well in the Special Collections of Texas A&M International University's Killam Library. The first was an extant copy of *El Herald*, a tri-weekly paper published Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, which was located in the Webb County criminal records (#5026, December 1, 1914). The newspaper issue was used as evidence in the case in which the editor, José García Roel, the administrator, Bartolomé García, and the manager, P. Aldama, were involved. The other newspaper, *El Horizonte*, was founded in 1879. Four issues exist, printed between 1884-1885.

Another newspaper found that has not been included as an addition to Kanellos and Martell's list is *La Revista*, a Masonic newspaper published by Nicasio Idar. Although it has a similar title as *La Revista Semanal*, it likely was published for Masonic members and not for general distribution. In any case, the one issue found in the Special Collections, dated October and November 1911, states it is the seventh year of publication, issue six and seven, so it appears it was a yearly issue. It is unlikely that these two are connected in any way.

Four other corrections on the publication dates listed in Kanellos and Martell include *La Colonia Mexicana*, *El Demócrata Fronterizo* and *El Mutualista*. First, a May 6, 1891 edition of *La Colonia Mexicana* indicates it is in its fifth year of publication, which means that the first year of publication was likely 1887, not 1885, as stated in Kanellos (2000). Second, the first issue of *El Demócrata Fronterizo* probably started in 1905, not 1896, unless there were years of interrupted printing. The first issue found in the Hispanic American newspaper database, *American Historical Newspapers*, is dated

December 3, 1917. It is volume fourteen and the 624th issue. Since this was a weekly, the issue number divided by fifty-two weeks a year dates it only twelve years earlier than 1917, which means 1905. If we use the volume number of fourteen, the year is 1903. In either case, 1896 doesn't seem to have been the year it began although it is possible that interruptions in the printing of subscriptions, not an uncommon occurrence, could mean an earlier start date. Third, the Briscoe Center for American History has an extant copy *El Mutualista* dated 1891, which means that the newspaper ran until at least 1891, not 1888, as stated in Kanellos and Martell. Lastly, an extant copy *El Diputado* in the Briscoe Center for American History, dated 1891, indicates it was in business at least until then, even though, as Kanellos notes, the last publication date is unknown.

3.3. Data Treatment

3.3.1. Transcriptions of Personal Correspondence and Court Statements

3.3.1.1. Selection Criteria for Transcription

After copying and organizing the three collections, other miscellaneous letters received or found in the court files, each one was read carefully to determine which documents matched the criteria for transcription. These documents fall into three categories. First, there are those handwritten in Spanish by Laredoans or residents of the surrounding communities like Zapata, Encinal, and San Ignacio. The second category includes those that were typewritten in Spanish but whose authorship was not in question and/or had significant information that would contribute to the study. The third includes those handwritten in English that provided important linguistic, cultural or personal information about the writers.

All thirty-nine letters in the Leyendecker collection were included. All the Spanish handwritten letters in the San Miguel collection were included, except for those written by relatives and friends living in Mexico. Seven of Elizabeth Baldrige's 50 letters handwritten in English were included, because they shed some light on Rafael's life and the social and political ambience in Zapata and Laredo during this period. They also provide evidence of Rafael's bilingualism and language attitudes. Esperanza (Hope) Dilly's six letters in English and one in Spanish were included. Only one of Elena García's 22 letters written in English to Baldrige and one letter written to Rafael in Spanish were transcribed since the others did not contain information of interest to this study.

In the Idar collections, all family letters written in Spanish (some typed) were included, except for those written by relatives who were not from the Laredo area. All typewritten business letters or speeches in English and Spanish were excluded except for a few of Clemente Idar's that contained important information.

Letters that were not part of a collection, but were available from other sources such as the poetic journal of Guillermo Sandoval and the Charles Phillips love letters used as evidence in a court trial, were also transcribed. Additionally, in the public documents, all testimonies, voluntary statements and verdicts found in the court records and handwritten in Spanish were also transcribed.

3.3.1.2. Organization of Transcriptions

All transcribed correspondence and other documents are contained in Appendices A - E and are organized into the following categories: Leyendecker (L), San Miguel (S),

Idar (I), Miscellaneous (M), and Courts (C). Each letter or court document is then organized alphabetically by first name of the writer and then by the first name of the addressee, and finally, by date. For example, the first letter in the Leyendecker collection, L1, is written by Andrea Leyendecker Benavides to John Leyendecker, and dated 1862. The numerical sequence of the letters is continuous throughout the collection, so that when the San Miguel collection starts, it is coded S40, S for San Miguel and 40 because the last letter in the Leyendecker collection is 39.

The following are the categories and number sets for each: Leyendecker Collection, L1-L39; San Miguel Collection, S40-S195; Idar Collections; I196-I236; Miscellaneous letters written by Sandoval and Phillips, M237- M241; Court documents, C242-C256. Thus, the total number of letters or documents transcribed is 256. All citations to transcriptions will use this identifier, e.g. M237, plus the line number. In Section 6, the citations also include the initials of the writer. For example Andrea Benavides Leyendecker's initials, ABL are included at the end of the transcription reference, (L2, 15, ABL).

3.3.1.3. Methodology for Transcription

Mackenzie's (1997) manual for manuscript transcriptions of Old Spanish was used as a reference to select some of the special characters used for the transcriptions. Not all transcription guidelines were followed, since the need to remain faithful to all elements of the writing was not critical for the purposes of this study. The methodology used is described below. Every effort was made to apply these consistently throughout the transcription process.

3.3.1.3.1. *Editing for Readability*

Punctuation and capitalization was corrected to match modern orthographical practice and accent marks were inserted or deleted as necessary to facilitate reading. Incorrect word separations or words written together were corrected as well, to increase the readability of the documents, e.g. *es taba* was transcribed as *estaba*; *erecivido* as *e recivido*. No special characters were used to identify where these spaces were entered or deleted. However, misspellings were not corrected since these can hold phonological clues about how words were pronounced.

3.3.1.3.2. *Document Reference*

After the numerical heading, a document reference follows including the following in brackets: the writer, the addressee, the relationship to writer, the date, the place, the collection name, the chronological sequence of the letter or document within those written by the writer, the page number, and if written on both sides of the page, whether it was the front or back. For example, the document reference that follows indicates the seventh letter of all the letters Clemente wrote. [Clemente N. Idar to Federico Idar, brother, April 15, 1927, Brownsville, Texas, Federico Idar Collection, Letter 7, p1]. Note that the letter number does not refer necessarily to the seventh letter to Federico, but the seventh overall by that author. If the letter was typewritten, it is indicated after the collection name.

3.3.1.3.3. *Line Numbering and Special Characters*

Line numbers on the left hand margin identify every fifth line. The following special characters, most of them recommended by Mackenzie (1997), were used

throughout the transcriptions to identify headings, remarks, any deletions, additions, expansions, or illegible words or phrases. See Table 7 below.

Special Characters	Description
[] brackets	for document reference and all editorial insertions or reconstructions, [bb], or for writer's insertion, [^bb]
() parentheses	for deletions if text is repeated in error, e.g. (bb) editorial deletion, (^bb) writer's deletion
^ caret	Appears between brackets, where it indicates writer's insertion, [^bb], or deletion, (^bb), or before parentheses, ^bb) to indicate writer's parenthetical note
[??]	to indicate an illegible part of a word
space[??]space	to indicate an illegible word
[???	to indicate an illegible or missing phrase
<i>italics</i>	to indicate expansion of writer's abbreviations, e.g. Don
{ }	for rubric or to indicate headings in letters
^(comment^)	to indicate writer's parenthetical remarks

Table 7. Description of special characters used for transcription.

3.3.2. Methodology for Linguistic Analysis

All correspondence and documents transcribed were carefully read multiple times and analyzed for linguistic elements pertinent to this study. Any linguistic features worth noting were highlighted and annotated. These included orthography, phonology, lexicon, morphosyntax (including the analysis of agreement of nouns and adjectives,

pronoun use, verb forms, voice, mood, tense, *ser* and *estar*), pragmatics, and archaic expressions.

3.3.3. Methodology for Language Use and Attitude Analysis

3.3.3.1. Microfilm Archives and Digitized Newspaper Databases: Killam Library, Texas A&M International University

For this part of the analysis, information was gathered from the personal letters and also from the published newspapers. In order to obtain information from the latter, the microfilm collection of Laredo Spanish newspapers published between 1860-1930 was researched for evidence of Spanish language use, English influence on Spanish, and language attitudes towards Spanish language maintenance or use in the public domain. The holdings included the papers and years of publication listed in Table 8.

Copies of each of the newspapers listed above were printed. In some cases the holdings included just one or two issues of these newspapers. However, in the case of *El Correo de Laredo* and *La Crónica*, only copies of some of the holdings were made, since these were quite extensive. These large holdings were reviewed and those pages judged to be representative of the advertisement layouts for the year in review were printed, since these did not change much from month to month, or even from year to year. Pages that contained any information related to language attitudes, English language use, or Spanish language maintenance, such as editorials or advertisements for Spanish, English, and bilingual language schools were also printed. Forty-five issues of *El Correo de Laredo* and 21 issues of *La Crónica* were photocopied and meticulously reviewed for linguistic purposes and content. All relevant information was highlighted and annotated.

Newspaper	Publication Dates	Notes
<i>El Tiempo de Laredo</i>	August 31, 1881	Spanish edition insert
<i>El Diputado</i>	December 22, 1884	
<i>El Mutualista</i>	November 12, 1887	
<i>La Colonia Mexicana</i>	May 6, 1891	
<i>El Correo de Laredo</i>	July 1891-1895	Selected issues
<i>El Fígaro</i>	December 18 to December 25, 1892	
<i>El Demócrata Fronterizo</i>	Jan 1904-May 1919	
<i>La Crónica</i>	January, 1909-April, 1911; April 1914	Selected issues
<i>El Horizonte</i>	October, 1884; March 2, 1885	

Table 8. Reviewed list of Laredo's Spanish newspapers archived in Killam Library.

The Killam Library at Texas A&M International University has subscriptions to the *Hispanic American Newspaper Database* and the *Newspaper Archive Database*, both of which contained other issues of the Laredo Spanish newspapers not found in the microfilm collections. These databases also helped me locate issues printed after the known publication dates, thus facilitating more precise research findings. Since the database also has search capabilities, certain key words, such as *clases de español*, were used to find relevant articles. This search feature also facilitated the review of other issues not previously photocopied from Killam microfilm holdings since it was easier to review them digitally than on microfiche. This was particularly true for *El Demócrata Fronterizo*. A search for the word *español* in all issues printed from 1917 to 1919 was

conducted and this search resulted in the identification of several articles pertaining to Spanish language instruction in the public schools.

3.3.3.2. Collections of Original Newspapers: Briscoe Center for American History and Benson Latin American Collection

The Briscoe Center for American History has a large collection of several original Spanish and English Laredo newspapers that had not been previously reviewed in the microfilm collections of the Killam Library at Texas A&M International University. These included *The Laredo Times*, *Borderland of the Two Republics*, *La Crónica*, and *El Demócrata Fronterizo*. Since many of *La Crónica* issues at the Killam Library had already been reviewed, the search at the Briscoe Center focused on the 1904 through 1909 issues, the 1907, 1909, 1912, 1918, and 1919 original copies of *El Demócrata Fronterizo* and the few extant issues of the English newspaper, *Borderland of the Two Republics* published in 1905. Any articles or advertisements that contained useful information relevant to Spanish language use and attitudes were digitally photographed and then closely examined. Any evidence found of English borrowings, articles on language education or instruction, and positive or negative attitudes is included in Section 4. The Benson Latin American Collection had no catalogued original newspapers collections in their archives. The one original extant issue of *Las Noticias* was found among the many documents in the *Clemente N. Idar Papers*.

3.3.3.3. Spanish Language Court Records: Killam Library

The Webb County Civil and Criminal Court Records cited in the Data Source section were closely read and analyzed for Spanish language use or linguistic attitudes.

In the court records, these included voluntary statements or depositions written in Spanish, evidence written in private correspondence or published in the Spanish press, or any notations written in English that indicated the information had first been provided in Spanish. Each court record was reviewed and those containing evidence of Spanish language use, impact of English on Spanish or attitude information were digitally photographed or photocopied and archived for my personal collection.

3.4. Limitations of the Study

3.4.1. Spanish Newspapers

Due to the large holdings of some of the Spanish newspapers and to the limitations of the database search engines, not every single issue of *El Correo de Laredo*, *La Crónica*, and *El Demócrata Fronterizo* was read. It is very likely that other articles or advertisements that might have bearing on this investigation exist which I did not cite. The archives of the Spanish press in Laredo are quite extensive and deserve further and more rigorous investigation than what the scope of this study permitted.

3.4.2. Correspondence

When copies of the letters in San Miguel Collection were made, the right margins in a few letters were inadvertently cut short. When these were noted, access to the original collection was no longer possible since it had been returned to the family. However, in each case, the omission of words has been noted by the use of [??] in the transcriptions.

It should also be noted that the San Miguel Collection included many English letters written by Elizabeth Baldrige and other female correspondents that were not

transcribed. As noted earlier in this chapter, some were used as references if they contained Spanish borrowings or evidence of language attitudes. Some of these letters also contained historical information on life in Laredo and Zapata that may be of interest to other researchers but were not directly related to the focus of this study.

In sum, the research for this investigation occurred over a period of four years due to the extensive nature of the research topics, the location of some of the archives, and the large collections of personal correspondence, Spanish newspapers and Webb County court records. These direct and indirect data sources provide a broad picture Spanish language use and attitude in Laredo since the data includes evidence from both private and public domains. The data treatment, which included the careful review and analysis of all the correspondence and court records and a large sample of Laredo's Spanish newspapers, yielded much important and interesting information about the topic. These findings will be discussed in the next three chapters. Chapter 4 contains the analysis of Spanish language use, Chapter 5 the linguistic attitudes, and Chapter 6 contains the linguistic analysis of all the correspondence and court statements written in Spanish.

4. SPANISH USE IN A CONTACT SITUATION

4.1 Introduction

This section analyzes the data found between 1860 and 1930 for the first of three research questions of this study. The first question, as will be recalled, is how Spanish/English contact impacted the use of each language in public and private domains.

When confronted with the sweeping changes caused by the influx of Anglos in the 1880s and the “English Only” education policies implemented in the 1920s, Laredoans held on to their language and culture. They also recognized the pragmatic value of learning English, which widened the doors to economic prosperity and political power and was the language of the government, the school systems, and the courts. Because of this, many Laredoans recognized that it was simply better to be bilingual than monolingual, and those that could and were interested, learned English. Some learned it in school, but others opted out of the public school system early on, holding on to their own culture and language. Still others were recent Mexican immigrants or Laredo-born residents who found they could function reasonably well in their community without having to learn English. Consequently, Spanish continued to be used in the public domain, and monolingual English speakers working in the public systems often found that they had to make accommodations for the many Laredoans who did not speak English. Laredo also had a thriving Spanish press in the late 1880s and early 1900s that did much to maintain Spanish language use and culture in Laredo.

In general, Laredoans did not abandon their Spanish language or culture or allow English speakers to relegate Spanish to a second-class status. Even Anglos and foreigners understood the benefits of being bilingual and in many cases acculturated to the majority language. As a result, many Laredoans negotiated a bilingual identity that suited them and allowed them to make the most of two cultures and languages. Other Laredoans, either by choice or circumstance, remained Spanish or English monolingual speakers.

4.2. Language Choice and Use in Education

The diversity of language choice impacted language use in both the public and private domain. In the public domain, the Texas educational system and the Texas courts wrestled with the reality that the majority of Laredoans were predominantly Spanish speakers, particularly the poor and working class. In the school system, Spanish monolingual or even bilingual speakers circumvented the official regulations by choosing alternatives for their children's education. In the courts, officials conducted their business in English, with necessary concessions made for monolingual Spanish speakers when they testified or served on juries. Court interpreters and translators, although not easily identified in the written records, must have played a key role in the day-to-day business of administering justice. Another public domain where Spanish language maintained a strong presence was the press. Spanish newspapers had a loyal readership, and the publishers took pride in their language and culture. Even so, evidence of English contact can be found, usually in advertisements or articles about local events, such as sports.

In the private domain, correspondence contains the clearest evidence of individuals' language preferences and usage. The letters included in this study provide samples of a variety of Spanish language writers, from monolingual and bilingual speakers whose Spanish writing is minimally influenced by English contact to those whose writing contains clear evidence of it. The sections below describe the evidence of Spanish and English use in both domains. I begin with a discussion of the Texas public school system and its impact on language use and choice in Laredo, followed by the diversity of English and Spanish private school options that sustained the bilingual community in Laredo.¹

4.2.1. Public Schools

In 1871, the Texas government, recognizing that its citizens came from different cultural and language backgrounds, passed the Reconstruction school law which effectively gave local school districts control over the content of curriculum. English was to be the main language of instruction, but other languages could be taught two hours of each day. Jacob C. De Gress, the first Texas superintendent, believed that bilingualism should be supported since Texas had a large number of immigrants whose home language was Spanish or German. The Reconstruction law respected that fact, but it also wanted to encourage parents to send their children to public rather than private school (Blanton 2004: 19-20).

¹ All translations of Spanish quotations found in this chapter and those that follow are mine unless otherwise indicated.

Two other legislative events impacted language use in Texas schools. In 1884, the public school reform bill passed, in response to the Progressive Education movement that began that year and continued until 1949 (42). The movement advocated the elimination of local governance or community system that supported bilingual education and teacher certification reform that required certification exams to be given only in English (50). It also began the imposition of the “English-Only” policy that eventually became law in 1893. The intent of this legislation was reiterated in 1905, when a new law required teachers to use only English for instruction. However, it was never really enforced until 1918, when violations started to be criminalized (Blanton 2004: 53, 65). In sum, the 1893 “English-Only” legislation began the demise of bilingual education in Texas.

The Americanization Movement greatly influenced the passage of the “English-Only” legislation. This movement was not very cohesive at the beginning but it gained momentum in the first two decades of the 20th century. Fearful of the threat of new immigrants, the movement advocated a forced assimilation to American culture through churches, employment and educational systems (59). As Blanton states, “From 1918 until the late 1960s, any form of bilingual education in Texas remained illegal and the education of Mexican Americans was based, in large part, on the attitudes of the Americanization Movement” (73). As evidence of the implementation of this change, an article in *El Demócrata Fronterizo* of 1918 appears announcing that the public schools would no longer be teaching Spanish, a practice that had been ongoing for years.

El Consejo de Instrucción pública de esta ciudad, en una de sus últimas sesiones, acordó suprimir las clases de idioma castellano que se daban en las escuelas públicas desde hace algunos años. Ese anuncio obedece a disposición de las autoridades escolares superiores del estado. (May 18, 1918: 3)

The school board of this city, in one of its last sessions agreed to suspend the Spanish language classes that have been given for some time. This announcement is in accordance with the disposition of the high-ranking school authorities of the State.

The “English-Only” legislation only made matters worse for Laredo school children. Certainly, public schools that were staffed almost entirely by Anglo teachers held little attraction for Mexican parents who were working class poor, uneducated, and unfamiliar with the system. These parents had other educational options in their own barrios, limited as they were. These schools/institutions were known as *escuelitas* and they flourished. According to Superintendent Parker of Laredo, in 1892-1893 Webb County had about 40 of these schools (Blanton 2004: 27). The Mexican-American community, organized by the *mutualistas*, defined as “working class organizations offering reaffirmation of a Mexicanist identity,” encouraged and supported these schools (26). This was a frustrating situation for public school district leaders who felt that these schools undermined the public system.

Laredoans’ poor response to public education opportunities at the turn of the century understandably reflected the political reality that they were dealt. Culturally distant from a public education system that did not honor their home language and that was in itself a foreign experience for most, working class parents turned to the *escuelitas* or opted not to send their children to school regularly due to their need to work as migrants. In general, the poor and working class Tejanos held on to their native

language and did not participate in public school system in large numbers, particularly in the higher grades, due to the low success rates in the elementary grades (Calderón 1993: 653-69). One sad commentary regarding this fact is noted in an article about the high school commencement exercises in 1910: “*Solo es de sentirse que la mayoría de los niños de origen mexicano no pueden llegar a al Escuela Alta (high school) pues en este año no fue graduado ninguno*” (*La Crónica*, May 28, 1910:1). “Unfortunately the majority of children of Mexican descent do not make it to high school, for this year not a single one graduated.”

4.2.2. Private Schools

Laredo’s private schools, however, met with greater success, principally because the students came from the upper class families or because they were supported by scholarships. The three most influential private schools in Laredo were established prior to the twentieth century and stayed in business at least through the 1960s. The first of these was Ursuline Academy, established in 1869 through local efforts of two community leaders, Raymond Martin and Santos Benavides. The school was to create educational opportunities for the elite youth of Laredo, the majority of who were of Mexican descent. This was apparently the case for two decades. However, by 1890 the school decided to include the Anglo community in their instructional program, as is evident by advertisement in *The Laredo Times* which pointedly announces that the school will open a separate day school for American school girls and that it will not only teach English and Spanish, but French and German as well.

The Ursuline Sisters of this city, before reopening their school on the 1st Monday of September, wish to announce to parents and guardians who would like to confide their children or wards to their care, that besides their Mexican pupils, they will have, in future, a separate day-school for American little girls and young ladies, where English, Spanish, German and French will be taught, as well as all the other branches included in the prospectus of said Institution. Prices will be regulated according to the classes to which they will respectively belong. (*The Laredo Times*, August 20, 1890: 5)

Calderón notes that all the mothers superior from 1868 to 1968 were Anglo, with the exception of one (1993: 631-32). It is logical to conclude, given that fact and the ad above, that the primary language of instruction was English, whether the audience was Mexican or American children. The use of the phrase “separate day-school” certainly raises questions about how the school instruction was organized. The Ursuline Academy had boarder students, many of them from Mexico, as late as the 1960s. However, it is not clear whether the word “separate” refers to the boarder versus day-school or actual separation of Mexican and American students.

In 1880, a second and very successful private school, The Laredo Seminary, was established by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It was later renamed Holding Institute in honor of Miss Nannie Emory Holding, its first superintendent (Thompson 1986: 224). Although the board and the faculty were almost all Anglo, its missionary interest was the education of Mexican children and not necessarily wealthy ones. The school advertised that it taught English to Spanish speakers, among other subjects, and recruited students from South Texas and Mexico, many of whom came on scholarships. In its role as a missionary school, it evangelized, gave a basic education and taught English each year to approximately 250 Spanish-speaking students of limited means

(Calderón 1993: 636-39). Ms. Holding's generous work among the poor Mexican children for over twenty years was noted in a *La Crónica* article that appeared on May 28, 1910. After a description of the string and piano concert and a comedy skit performed by some of the school children, the article continues with the following:

No damos una reseña detallada de este concierto por falta de tiempo y espacio, pero sí nos permitimos enviar a la Srita. Holding en nombre de la juventud culta de Laredo, de la juventud pobre, para la que ha sido una cariñosa y noble protectora, nuestros parabienes y agradecimientos. La Srita. Holding, con un desinterés muy digno de encomio, ha impartido a los niños pobres por más de veinte años, educación gratis, sin fijarse en su religión, origen o nacionalidad. A su lado han laborado damas que como ella gozan de la gratitud y estimación de gran parte de la juventud estudiosa de Laredo. Instituciones como el Seminario de Laredo, donde se prepara a la juventud para el buen éxito en el sendero escabroso de la vida, merecen la aprobación y protección de las clases cultas de Laredo. (La Crónica May 28, 1910:4)

We do not give a detailed summary of the concert for lack of time and space, but we do wish to send Ms. Holding in the name of the educated youth of Laredo, of the poor youth, for whom she has been a noble and loving protectress, our congratulations and gratitude. Miss Holding, with a dignified lack of interest in receiving praise, has imparted to our poor children for over twenty years, a free education, without taking into account religion, origin or nationality. Ladies who, like her, labored by her side have enjoyed the gratitude and esteem of a great portion of Laredo's studious youth. Institutions like the Laredo Seminary, where youth are prepared for success along the difficult pathway of life, deserve the approval and protection of the educated class of Laredo.

Eighteen years later, in 1898, a third private school was founded. Unlike Holding Institute, St. Peters School's mission was to provide an education to the English-speaking children of Catholic Laredo families, although it likely accepted any child whose family could pay tuition and was interested in an English-speaking educational environment. Calderón (1993) insists that the church condoned the segregation of children's education not only by class, but also by ethnicity, based on the fact that 88%,

or 43 of the students that graduated from there between 1928 and 1940 had Anglo surnames. He indicates that was probably true from the very start. He even suggests that an interview with one of the Ursuline nuns who taught there and who indicated there was never any segregation was a “classic denial” (635). The fact that an Anglo surname was not always an indicator of ethnicity due to the intermarriage of families, something even he makes reference to in other parts of his study, is not mentioned. Certainly, the Anglo community would be interested in encouraging more Anglos to settle in Laredo for both social and business reasons, and having an additional private educational option for people of means makes any community a more desirable place to live. In fact, St. Peter’s Church and Parochial School were built in the newer elite neighborhood. To insist segregation based on ethnicity was intentional seems unwarranted. Even today, Spanish-speaking families of Catholic faith and economic means send their children to English-only private Catholic schools.

At least five smaller private schools opened for business from the 1880s to the 1930s, increasing the options for parents who could afford to pay. The majority of these schools were directed and taught by Anglo women, so English was likely the medium of instruction. The following advertisements or articles appeared in the Spanish newspapers or *The Laredo Times*, indicating a perceived market for the teaching of English as a foreign language or the teaching of school children in the English language. The first of these, Miss Gilmore’s private school, appears as early as 1890.

On Monday, Sept. 1st, 1890, Miss Gilmore will open a private school in the Jarvis laundry building which is being refitted for school purposes. Miss

Gilmore comes well recommended and solicits a share of the patronage of those desiring to send to private schools (sic). (*The Laredo Times*, August 29, 1890: 5)

A year later, it was still in operation at the Southside Methodist School. The newspaper ad reads: “Miss Gilmore’s private school, south side Methodist church block. Parents invited to attend” (*The Laredo Times*, November 8, 1891:6).

In 1892, a second private school opened under the direction of a Miss Emma Cummings. She must have started in 1891, since in 1925 an article in *The Laredo Times* makes reference to her 34 years of teaching, as it announces a memorial held at the Laredo Public Library in her honor. The article reads:

Miss Emma Cummings was a native of New York where she grew to womanhood and received unusual educational and musical advantage. She was also an artist of considerable ability and spoke three languages fluently; therefore, she was fitted to contribute a great deal toward developing the youth of Laredo along intellectual and cultural lines when she came to this city about thirty-four years ago. In the little frame building on Houston Street she opened a private school which was attended by the children of most of the leading families of Laredo. (*The Laredo Times*, May 15, 1925: 2)

Thompson (1986) includes a class picture of approximately 60 students in Miss Cummings’ school dated prior to 1900 and taken on the school property, east of St. Peter’s Plaza where St. Peters Elementary School is now located (228).

A third school, the Laredo Preparatory Academy, run by a Mrs. J. T. Ward was in business by 1916. Whether that was its first year of operation is uncertain, since no earlier references were found. The ad reads: “The Laredo Preparatory School announces its fall term, beginning Sept 11. Phone 675. 1315 Victoria Street” (*The Laredo Times*, September 10, 1916:5). Seven years later, in 1923, another ad appeared

announcing that school was about to start a new year: “Mrs. J. T. Ward announces the fall term of the Laredo Preparatory School beginning Monday, September at 1813 Washington Street, phone 675” (*Laredo Weekly Times*, Sunday, August 26, 1923).

The fourth school was started by a Mrs. Haynes in 1920.

Mrs. Haynes to Open Private School. Mrs. William E. Haynes, who was formerly one of Laredo’s efficient public school teachers, well known as Miss Mary Hickey, will open on Sep. 9, a private school at 1508 Cortez Street. Mrs. Haynes will take beginners up to and including the 4th grade. Registration hours will be all day beginning today. (*The Laredo Times*, August 5, 1920:3)

Ten years later an ad appears for a fifth school, Mrs. Frank Ellis’ Private School for 2nd to 6th grade, although that was not the first year it was in business (*The Laredo Times*, March 2, 1930). A photograph in *The Laredo Times* showed the Ellis Symphony Orchestra who played at the May 1930 commencement exercises. The youth orchestra was composed of 16 young children all of whom had English first and last names. The article stated “Mrs. Frank Ellis [whose] private school on the Heights has grown in the past few years to be one of the principal institutions of learning for the younger children of Laredo. The school held their commencement exercises last week when a playlet entitled ‘The Flag in Birdland’ was given” (May 25, 1930: 2B).

These five private schools, over a forty-year period, served as options for parents who desired a smaller school setting for their children. These schools were likely less expensive than the larger private schools, non-faith based, and taught the curriculum in English. Since some of these operated for several years, it is clear that they experienced success and served a certain sector of Laredo’s population, either English monolingual,

bilingual children, or children who were Spanish monolingual but whose parents may have wished them to learn English in a smaller setting than a larger public elementary school or perhaps did not want them to mix with lower class children in public schools.

4.2.3. English Language Schools

A few English as a second language classes for adults were advertised in the 1880s and 1890s, evidence that the school directors and instructors believed that enough Spanish monolinguals would be interested in enrolling. In 1887 an English language school for adults announced it was open for business, but it did not identify itself as a business school nor did it identify the professor. The newspaper announcement reads:

Un profesor de Ingles (sic) que durante dieziocho (sic) años ha enseñado dicho idioma en distintos puntos de ambas Américas ha abierto el dia 1ero del corriente en esta ciudad, una clase para el aprendizaje del citado idioma. La clase se dará por la noche y los honorarios seran (sic) moderados. Ocurrase por informes a la redacción de “El Mutualista” Laredo, Texas, Nbre. 2 de 1887. (El Mutualista, November 12, 1887:3)

A professor of English who for eighteen years has taught said language in different parts of both Americas has opened on the first day of this month in this city a class for the learning of said language. The class shall be given in the evening and the fee is moderate. For more information, contact the offices of “El Mutualista” Laredo, Texas, Nov. 2, 1887.

A similar opportunity is announced in 1892 when an ad appears for *El Instituto Anglo Mexicano*. The ad speaks to the importance of learning English and provides the credentials of the instructor:

Clases nocturnas de inglés. Desde el día 1ero de abril comenzara (sic) a dar clases nocturnas de inglés el Sr. DIRECTOR del Instituto Anglo Mexicano e invita a los adultos que deseen aprender tan importante idioma que formen parte de dichas clases. El Director del Instituto se educó en Colegio de Richmond,

Virginia y adquirió además el título de MAESTRO DE ARTES del Seminario de Louisville, Ky. Sus conocimientos en seis idiomas le ayudaran (sic) a explicar algunas dificultades del idioma inglés el cual enseña por el método fonético práctico. (El Correo de Laredo, May 7, 1892:1,3)

English night classes. Starting April 1st, the director of the Instituto Anglo Mexicano will begin to give English evening classes and he invites adults who desire to learn such an important language to join said classes. The Director of the Institute was educated in Richmond College of Virginia and in addition acquired the degree of Master of Arts at the Seminary of Louisville, KY. His knowledge of six languages will help him explain some of the challenges of learning English which he teaches using the practical phonetic method.

A year later other ads for this school appear, but this time they announce that the director, Mr. Margarito Toscano, is teaching classes for boys and girls. They do not specify that the classes are in English; however it is reasonable to suppose that this was the case since the credentials for the director in the 1892 ad market his preparation as a teacher of English. The ads read: “*Colegio para niños y niñas de Laredo, Texas. Se preparan los jovenes (sic) para los DESTINOS y PROFESIONES. Se admiten externos e internos. PRECIOS MODICOS (sic)*” (*El Correo de Laredo*, January 31 and February 2, 1893:3). “School for Laredo boys and girls. The youth are prepared for their business and professions. Day and boarder students. Modest prices.”

In sum, the existence of private schools whose medium of instruction was English signals that as early as 1870, parents who could afford to do so chose other options besides the public school system for their children’s education. These schools served the children of Anglo, Mexican, and Mexican-American parents, some of whom were English or Spanish monolinguals or bilingual speakers themselves. Additionally,

Spanish monolingual adults sought opportunities to learn English and participate in a bilingual community.

4.2.4. Spanish Language Schools

Laredoans, however, were not only interested in the learning of English. Spanish speakers, proud of their language and culture, fully supported Spanish language maintenance especially when they felt the “English-Only” movement was intent on marginalizing or eliminating the teaching of Spanish in the public schools. This ethnic pride is documented in the Spanish press that played a key role in promoting Spanish language education and the education of Mexican children. As early as 1891, Justo Cárdenas, the editor of *El Correo de Laredo*, called for a response to the educational crisis facing the Mexican youth of Laredo and began a public campaign in support of some local businessmen interested in starting an elementary private school to teach Spanish to boys.

Sabemos que algunos comerciantes de la localidad piensan abrir una suscripción (sic) mensual para establecer en esta ciudad una buena escuela mexicana para niños donde se enseñe, como base de los conocimientos posteriores, el idioma castellano. (El Correo de Laredo, August 9, 1891: 1-2)

We know that some local shopkeepers intend to start a monthly subscription to establish in this city a good Mexican school for boys where the Castillian language will be taught as the foundational basis.

Two days later, a full article appeared, “*Una escuela mexicana: su necesidad, Facilidades para conseguirlo I*” explaining how critical this venture was, since state schools only taught the official language, English. Not knowing English, they posited, would only make it more difficult for these students to learn the rudiments of science.

Therefore, Justo Cárdenas argued, the students should first learn “*la ciencia*” in their native tongue. The Mexican public school system of schooling would be adopted and English would be taught as a subject using the latest pedagogy. The second article, “*Facilidades para conseguirlo II*” appeared four days later, explaining the financial plan, the development plan and the role of the advisory committee. Cárdenas pleaded for support for this project since it would greatly benefit the children who otherwise would have no future in the United States:

Esperamos que todos los mexicanos verdaderamente progresistas nos ayuden en esta patriótica tarea, que redundará en beneficio de la niñez Mexicana, destituida hasta hoy de todo porvenir en esta parte de la Unión Americana. (El Correo de Laredo, August 11, 1891: 1-2)

We hope that all truly progressive Mexicans will help us in this patriotic task that will contribute to the benefit of Mexican children, whose future as of this date in this part of the American Union has been forsaken.

A month later, an announcement appeared for the *Instituto Particular* for boys, directed by Arturo de la Vega (*El Correo de Laredo*, September 13, 1891: 2). The advertisement indicated that it would follow the curriculum of the Mexican public schools and that tuition was moderate. This article continued to appear periodically in the daily editions that followed.

El Demócrata Fronterizo also took the public schools to task in an article titled “*El Mensajero y las escuelas mexicanas de Texas*,” a rebuttal to a previous article in the newspaper from Del Rio, Texas. Although it is not entirely clear what appeared in *El Mensajero*, it must have not been in support of teaching the Mexican children Spanish or sending them to Mexican schools. Justo Cárdenas, editor of *El Demócrata Fronterizo*,

states unequivocally that the American public school system does an extremely poor job of educating the Mexican youth and that Mexican children are much better served if they are taught in their native language. He argues that the children of poor Mexican families come out of the American schools speaking and understanding English poorly while Mexican children attending Mexican schools not only learn the grammar of their own language well, but learn English in more or less one year. Additionally, he states, they are far better prepared in overall knowledge of subjects after three years of instruction compared to the ten years that it takes in the American system. He cites the success of Laredo professor Abraham Z. de la Garza with his pupils. This he attributes to the difficulties the monolingual English teachers have in making themselves understood and the lack of time they have to devote to Spanish-speaking children. A brief illustrative part of the article is included below:

... para la niñez méxico-texana o mexicana en Texas, es más fácil, provechosa y amplía la enseñanza en el idioma natal, porque él no tropieza con las dificultades del aprendizaje de un idioma que no practica sino en las horas de clase; con las dificultades del profesor que no puede hacerse entender por el discípulo ni consagrarle tiempo y atención, mientras que aprendiendo en su idioma natal todos los conocimientos primarios, incluso la gramática castellana, el niño ahorra tiempo, molestias y gastos y está en aptitud de aprender el idioma inglés en poco tiempo, lo que simplifica la cuestión. (El Demócrata Fronterizo, January 20, 1906:1)

...for the Mexican-Texan or Mexican child in Texas, learning in his native tongue is easier, more fruitful and more comprehensive because he does not encounter the difficulties of learning a language he does not practice outside of class time; with the difficulties of a professor who cannot make himself understood or dedicate time and attention to the student, while if he learns in his native language all the basic knowledge, including Spanish grammar, the child saves time, eliminates the struggles and cost and is more apt to learn English in less time, all of which simplifies the question.

In a second rebuttal, “*Otra vez, las escuelas mexicanas en Texas*,” Cardenas clarifies a few points. He indicates that he is not stating that the public schools are bad in and of themselves. They work for those that speak English already, but Mexican school children fare much better in Spanish schools where they can learn the necessary curriculum in a much shorter period of time. Once they have the basics down, including the grammatical study of Spanish, and are older, they can learn English in one of the many night schools operating all over the state. He reiterates that the teachers are monolingual English speakers and a third of the student population cannot understand them because they do not speak the language, a fact that impedes their academic progress.

Terminados los estudios en la escuela mexicana, cuando ha aprendido bien la gramática castellana, se puede asistir a una academia nocturna de idioma inglés, de las que hay millones en Texas, y donde por una mesada de dos a tres pesos se puede en un año aprender más inglés que el que un niño sin conocimientos aprendiera en diez años en una escuela oficial, desatendido por un profesor que ni le entiende ni puede hacerse atender (sic), ni puede desatender la parte más considerable de los alumnos y que cree cumplir su deber hablando siempre en inglés aunque no se le entienda. (El Demócrata Fronterizo, February 10, 1906: 1)

Once Mexican school studies are completed, when Spanish grammar has been learned, one can attend evening English classes, of which there are a million in Texas and where for a monthly payment of two or three pesos English can be learned in one year much faster than a child can who studies for ten years in a public school, where he is unattended to by his teacher who neither understands him nor can make herself understood, who cannot ignore the majority of her students and who believes that she is doing her duty by always speaking in English to children who do not understand.

He further states that the cost of school materials for the public schools exceeds the cost of the Spanish schools, thus creating a financial burden for poor Mexican

families. These two articles provide qualitative evidence of the failure of the public schools to educate the poor Mexican children and valuable insight regarding the popularity of the *escuelitas* and other Mexican based schools operating in Laredo.

A few months later, Cárdenas writes another editorial on local school politics, “*La cuestión de escuelas*,” in which he asks his readers to mobilize and vote for commissioners who will represent the poor when attending to public school issues. He underscores again that the rich have options for schooling, but the poor children of the city do not, and the quality of public education must rest in the hands of individuals sensitive to their needs (*El Demócrata Fronterizo*, April 28, 1906: 1).

Five years later, similar concerns about the education of Spanish speaking children are raised. In a two-part article of *La Crónica* titled “*Por la raza*,” Jovita Idar, under the pseudonym, A. V. Negra, contends that the Mexican community in Laredo is failing their children by not teaching them Spanish in school. The first article titled “*La niñez mexicana en Texas*” argues that this disloyalty to the Spanish language has detrimental results.

Con profunda pena hemos visto a maestros nuestros mexicanos enseñando inglés a niños de su raza, sin tomar para nada en cuenta el idioma maternal, que cada día se va olvidando más y cada día va sufriendo adulteraciones y cambios que hieren materialmente el oído de cualquier mexicano por poco versado que esté en la (sic) idioma de Cervantes. (La Crónica, August 10, 1911:1)

With profound regret, we have seen our Mexican professors teaching English to children of their own race without considering that their maternal language is being forgotten more each day and suffers from adulterations and changes that are painful to hear even for the least versed Mexican in the language of Cervantes.

The second article titled “*Por la raza: La conservación del nacionalismo*” or “For Our Race: Preservation of Nationalism,” makes much the same argument stating that if Spanish is not taught, Mexican nationalism is lost. English is worth learning, but it should not supplant the teaching of Spanish. Idar writes:

...no debe desentenderse el idioma nacional porque es el sello característico de las razas y de los pueblos. Las naciones desaparecen y las castas se hunden cuando se olvida la lengua nacional...No decimos que no se enseñe el ingles (sic) a la niñez méxico-texana, sea en hora buena, decimos que no se olviden de enseñarles el castellano, pues así como les es útil la aritmética y la gramática, así les es útil el inglés a los que viven entre los que hablan este idioma. (La Crónica, August 17, 1911:1)

...the national language should not be disregarded because it is the characteristic of the race and its peoples. Nations disappear and social orders are lost when the national language is forgotten...We are not saying that English should not be taught to the Mexican Texan children, that can happen in good time, but we are saying that they (teachers) should not forget to teach them Spanish, because just as arithmetic and grammar is useful to them, so is English to those who live among those who speak the language.²

These opinions favorable to Spanish instruction were accompanied by the founding of schools dedicated to the teaching of a Mexican curriculum through the means of the Spanish language, as evidenced by ads in the press in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Although the main purpose is Spanish instruction (that is, the teaching of

² Kanellos credits this second article to Jovita Idar, daughter of the Nicasio Idar, editor of the newspaper, since Nicasio indicated in the January 8, 1910 issue that the majority of the newspaper, with the exception of the editorials which he wrote, was written by his children Clemente, Jovita and Eduardo. Since Jovita usually covered education and feminist articles, Kanellos attributes the second “Por la raza” article to her although he makes no mention of her pseudonym (Kanellos 2002: 142). However, Idar’s use of the A. V. Negra pseudonym is confirmed by Clara Lomas, in the introduction to *La Rebelde*, Leonor Villegas de Magnón’s memoir.

Spanish and the teaching of content through the means of Spanish), some advertise the teaching of English. The earliest such advertisement is found in the *Colegio Mexicano* in 1892. The ad states: “*Educación primaria y secundaria, cursos escogidos de Gramática Castellana, Geografía, Aritmética, Historia de México, y clases de inglés por el Sr. Luis d’Antino Zoloaga* (El Fígaro, December 18, 1892:4). “Primary and secondary education, select courses in grammar, Spanish, geography, arithmetic, history of Mexico and English classes taught by Mr. Luis d’Antino Zoloaga.”

In 1907, the *Colegio Preparatorio* was founded, under the leadership of Abraham Z. Garza. Two statements in the ad are noteworthy. One is that students will not be inconvenienced or bothered in the process of receiving their education. Given the descriptions of the Mexican child’s negative public school experience referenced in the previous articles, this latter statement probably alludes to the advantage that a Spanish- vs. an English-based school program offers. The other is that a separate department exists for the teaching of English.

En este Instituto, montado conforme al plan de estudios de las escuelas oficiales del Estado de N. León, para la enseñanza del idioma castellano, se admiten alumnos para todos los cursos, pupilos, medios pupilos y externos. Tiene un buen servicio de profesores y todo lo necesario para una enseñanza completa y rápida, sin molestias para los alumnos. Informes sobre precios y condiciones los dará el Director del establecimiento. Se ofrecen referencias de personas respetables y entendidas. Hay también un departamento especial para la enseñanza del idioma inglés. (El Demócrata Fronterizo, June 8, 1907)

In this Institute designed in accordance with the curriculum of the official schools of the state of N. León, students for all courses, boarders, semi-boarders and day students are admitted. The school has a good instructional staff and everything necessary to acquire a thorough and rapid education with little inconvenience to the students. Information concerning prices and requirements will be given by the Director of the establishment. The references of respectable

and knowledgeable staff are available. There is also a special department dedicated to the teaching of English.

In 1911, a *Laredo Times* article titled “Held School Examinations” announces the public examinations of the students from a Spanish school in Laredo. The article notes that the third annual commencement exercises will soon be held, so the school was operating in 1908. The directors or teachers are two female graduates from the “normal” schools of Mexico. The curriculum followed was certainly that of Mexico as the article boasts that their 6th grade curriculum is equivalent to the English school system’s 11th grade level. It states:

On Sunday from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m., a large audience was assembled in the Market hall to witness the third annual examination exercises of the Spanish private school, which is conducted by Miss Mario (sic) de Jesús de León and her sister Miss Benedicta de León, two graduate teachers from the *normal* schools of Mexico . The examination was a public affair, the judges for the occasion being Messrs. Perfecto Rodríguez and C. R. Molina, who were loud in their praise of the manner in which the pupils without hesitation or doubt answered the numerous questions propounded them. Nearly 200 pupils took the examinations in all the studies from those of the kindergarten up to the sixth grade, the latter of which is equivalent to the 11th grade in the English course of study and embraced (sic) every branch. The third annual commencement exercises of this institution will be held at Market Hall on the evening of July 25. (*The Laredo Times*, July 23, 1911:6)

Another Spanish private school that followed a Mexican curriculum was the *Colegio Ocampo*, operating in 1914 and directed by Francisco Pérez and Cosme Pérez. The ad states: “*Educación primaria elemental y superior. Para los mexicanos lo esencial es el español, sin él no pueden aprender el inglés. Se enseñan todos los ramos que abraza la instrucción primaria, conforme a los programas de enseñanza adoptados*

en México (*La Crónica*, April 18, 1914). “Primary and secondary instruction. For all Mexicans, Spanish is essential. Without it, they cannot learn English. All subject areas of primary instruction in accordance with the curriculum of Mexico are taught.”

The statement above, “Without it, they cannot learn English,” advocates the language acquisition theory upon which the bilingual education programs of the 1880s functioned and upon which future legislation would rest. This is a principle that has been backed and supported much later. Fishman, in his early 1950 studies of a Yiddish bilingual school, stated that ignoring children’s native tongue as a vehicle for instruction was an enormous waste of “time, energy, and potential.” In the 1960s, Andersson, who played a leadership role in the Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools (FLES) movement, further supported Fishman’s scholarly work and lent a voice to Mexican-Americans’ struggle to eradicate the English-Only pedagogy that reigned from the 1900s to the 1960s. He stated that the nation was wasting a valuable resource by ignoring children’s home language in the elementary school grades (Blanton 2004: 121).

4.2.5. *Bilingual Schools*

Another private school option was some form of a bilingual educational experience that no longer existed in the public school system. At least six different bilingual schools were in business sometime between 1889 and 1922 and advertised through both the English and Spanish newspapers. Few details are given in some of the advertisements for or articles about these schools, so it is difficult to determine how and to what degree the two languages were taught. The earliest bilingual school appears in 1889. The article, regarding an annual examination of the bilingual school run by a Mr.

W. M. Flournoy, mentions the size of the school and lauds the performance of the pupils.

The title reads “Private School Examination” and it is followed by this short narrative.

The annual public examination of Mr. W. M. Flournoy’s private school occurred yesterday. Mr. F. is teaching an English and Spanish school and the fifty-five pupils who were in attendance upon the examination yesterday stood the same with credit to themselves and teacher. His total enrollment for the year was 130; average attendance for the first six months, 38; for the last six months, 48. (*The Laredo Times*, August 31, 1889:4)

The first ad for a bilingual school directed by Mr. Simón G. Domínguez appears in *El Correo de Laredo* in 1895 (January 9, 1895: 4) and it reads: “*Escuela Mexicana bajo la dirección del Sr. Simón G. Domínguez.*” In 1917, *Evolución* (May 23, 1917) advertises the primary school *Instituto Domínguez* stating that it has been in operation for some time; in all likelihood it is the same school. This means that it has been in business for twelve years. A year later, it is still open, but this time the announcement appears in *El Demócrata Fronterizo* and includes an additional component, that of a bilingual business school for adults. It reads:

El Instituto Domínguez, uno de los más antiguos y prestigiosos institutos de instrucción primaria en Laredo. Clases de inglés y español. Academias comerciales para adultos. (El Demócrata Fronterizo, January 5, 1918:1)

The Instituto Domínguez, one of the oldest and prestigious institutes of primary instruction in Laredo. Spanish and English classes. Business school for adults.

That same year, another elementary school, *Colegio Preparatorio*, directed by Edmundo J. Acosta offers English and Spanish classes based on the state curriculum.

The article titled “*Nuevo Instituto de Instrucción Primaria*” states the following:

El Sr. Profesor de Instrucción Primaria D. Edmundo J. Acosta nos participa haberse radicado en esta ciudad y haber establecido un Colegio Preparatorio en inglés y español en el que se observará al programa de enseñanza adoptado por las escuelas oficiales del Estado. Ese colegio abrió sus puertas a la juventud laredense el día (sic) 27 del pasado mayo en la casa No. 301 de la calle de Hidalgo. El Sr. Prof. Acosta es ya bien conocido en Laredo como un educador inteligente y apto bajo todos conceptos y que tiene verdadero amor al magisterio como lo ha demostrado en esta ciudad, en el condado de Zapata y en el de Duval, donde ha regentado con verdadero éxito para la juventud estudiosa, muy provechosos planteles de instrucción. (El Demócrata Fronterizo, June 8: 1918)

The teacher of elementary instruction, D. Edmundo J. Acosta has joined us now that he has settled in this city and has established a preparatory school in English and Spanish which will adhere to the program of instruction adopted by the state schools. This school opened its doors to Laredo youth May 27 at 301 Hidalgo Street. *Profesor Acosta* is well known in Laredo as an intelligent educator, well prepared in all concepts and as one who has a true love of teaching as he has demonstrated in this city, in Zapata County and in Duval, where he has managed successfully for young scholars, a very excellent teaching staff.

Lastly, in 1922 and ad appears for *Laredo Kindergarten*, under the direction of Leonor Villegas de Magnón, a prominent figure in Laredo's feminist history, an activist in education and politics, and a strong supporter of Spanish language maintenance. This announcement provides more details regarding classes taught, which not only include Spanish and English but also the arts. It states:

In order to keep the high standard of the Laredo Kindergarten, a limited number of children will be admitted. Spanish and elocution under Mrs. A.V. Heredia, First grade English, elocution and needlecraft, Miss Agnes Blake. Piano accompanist, Miss Luisa Dickenson. Dancing and singing teachers will be announced in a few days. Kindergarten work under the direction of Mrs. L. V. Magnón. (*The Laredo Times*, August 27, 1922)

Spanish speakers also understood the pragmatic value of learning Business English, evident from the emergence of bilingual business schools offering courses in

stenography, telegraphy, and typing. Some of these, like the *Instituto Domínguez* mentioned earlier, offered this curriculum as a sideline business, while others dedicated themselves solely to this type of instruction. For example, in 1890, a short article announcing the opening of a bilingual business school appears in the *Laredo Morning Times*.³ It reads:

Opening of the Laredo Commercial College and English–Spanish Academy. The night classes of the college commence Monday, February [??] until more suitable quarters can be obtained. The day sessions of the college will commence as soon as suitable hall can be secured, and other necessary arrangements made. Telegraphy, typewriting, and stenography will form part of the course of study and a [??] of the college will be [??] in both English and Spanish as quickly as possible. T.F. Swanwick, Principal. (*Laredo Morning Times*, Wednesday, February 12, 1890)

In 1906, another ad for a bilingual business school appears: “*Escuela profesional para Sritas. Calle de Hidalgo, No. 1614, Laredo, Texas. Curso de stenografía (sic) (en inglés y en español), mecanografía (escritura en máquina), telegrafía teórico-práctica. Para más informes, diríjanse a la Directora, Srita. Herminia B. Barron*” (*El Demócrata Fronterizo*, January 20, 1906). “Professional school for young girls. 1614 Hidalgo St, Laredo, Texas. Course in stenography (in English and Spanish), typing (writing on machine), theory and practice based telegraphy. For more information, contact the Director, Miss Herminia B. Barron.”

³ Unfortunately, the quality of the copy available is unclear so not all details could be deciphered.

4.2.6. Promotion of Literacy by the Spanish Press

One measure of a community's efforts to maintain Spanish language use is the vibrancy of its printed media. Fortunately, Kanellos and Martell (2000) have documented the role of the Spanish press in the United States by providing a history and bibliography of Hispanic periodicals from their inception to 1960. Because of this seminal work, it is known that the Spanish press flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and contributed greatly to Spanish maintenance in the United States. The aim of this ethnic press was multiple. It provided a forum for communication and a means for readers to stay current with foreign and local politics, business, and current events. It also served as a protector of culture, a promoter of education, a forum for intellectual discourse, and a guardian of civil rights for the Hispanic community. With regard to language maintenance, editors recognized that they had a responsibility to improve and/ or sustain the literacy of their readership, so many of them included literary works such as poems, short stories, plays, or serialized novels written by literary giants and in some cases by local writers. As Kanellos and Martell state, "They fought for education, schooling, and knowledge and converted their newspapers into compendiums that offered the best examples of writing in the vernacular..." (5-7).

The Spanish press in Laredo took on the multiple roles mentioned above during its early history, demonstrating a strong desire to maintain a high literacy level and loyal readership, and thus contributing to Spanish language maintenance. One measure of the impact of the Spanish press in this regard is the number of periodicals in circulation from

1860 to 1930. A total of 32 Spanish newspapers, including daily, biweekly, weekly, bimonthly editions as well as Spanish page inserts in English newspapers, were in operation during this period (Kanellos 2000). As a result, Laredoans had access to multiple sources of Spanish print during certain years, a fact that certainly contributed to Spanish language maintenance. Besides the day-to-day local news stories and editorials, Laredoans were exposed to literary work and to news stories from Mexico and other Latin American countries on a regular basis. These two types of newspaper stories helped maintain a high level of Spanish reading literacy among their subscribers.

Nicasio Idar, publisher of *La Crónica*, is a fine example of the type of newspaperman that Kanellos and Martell refer to in their study. He was not only a strong promoter of Spanish literacy but also of English literacy and of education more generally. Proud of his Mexican heritage, Idar consistently pressed his readers to improve their standing in the community through education, insisting that the maintenance of Spanish and the learning of English were key to Tejano progress. In the February 10, 1910 issue, Idar affirmed the mission of his newspaper, stating:

Ver a los mexicanos de Texas distinguirse por su saber, por su elevada posición social, por sus triunfos obtenidos en las luchas de la inteligencia, por su preponderancia en la política, por sus conquistas en el mutualismo, por su verdadera unión fraternal, es la labor en que con más empeño y con más sinceridad trabajará La Crónica. (3)

To see the Mexicans of Texas distinguish themselves through their knowledge, through their elevated social standing, through their triumphs obtained by their intellectual labors, their preponderance for politics, their labor union victories, their true fraternal union, that is the work that *La Crónica* will continue to pursue with the greatest sincerity and diligence.

In this same issue, he chides the wealthy Tejanos who had more than sufficient resources to educate their children but who were content with having them learn English badly. Idar's argument was that their lack of practice in English doomed them to associate with individuals who had a poor education and helped them squander their money (3).

In the March 19, 1910 issue, Idar dedicates an article, "*Instruirse es un deber ineludible: el mundo es de los que leen,*" to the problem of ignorance due to the illiteracy of Tejanos, arguing that they would more willingly spend their money in a bar than on a newspaper.

Esos hombres tienen la libertad relativa del cuerpo; pero están aherrojados por las cadenas de la ignorancia más crasa y todo porque nunca leen. Gastan ocho o diez pesos en una cantina embriagando a sus amigos y no invierten un peso en la suscripción de un periódico que les servirá de instrucción. Llevan alimentos a sus hijos pero jamás les compran un periódico o un libro para que atesoren conocimientos y se instruyan para que conozcan la verdad y la conozcan analizando y comparando las opiniones de los diferentes pensadores. (2)

These men have the relative freedom of their body, but they are fettered by the chains of the most crass ignorance and all because they do not read. They will spend eight or ten pesos in a bar, ensuring all their friends get drunk, but they will not invest a peso to pay for a newspaper subscription that would serve them well for instruction. They take food to their children, but they never buy them a newspaper or book so that they can treasure knowledge and instruct themselves, so they know the truth and know it by analyzing it and comparing it to the opinions of different thinkers.

He was clearly frustrated with individuals who did not value the Spanish press or books as vehicles for educating their children.

Another indicator of interest in Spanish language maintenance is evident from the inclusion of literary prose in the Spanish press. *El Horizonte*, *El Correo de Laredo*, *La Colonia Mexicana*, *El Fígaro*, and especially *La Crónica* included literary pieces, usually poetry but in some cases literary prose. The 1911 issues of *La Crónica* included a “*página literaria*” or “*columnas literarias*” which were mainly dedicated to the printing of poetry. Numerous editions of *El Correo de Laredo* also covered local presentations such as the “*Cuadro dramático*” presented by *La Sociedad Hidalgo* (August 8, 26, 28, 29, 1891).

It is clear from the profusion of schools teaching English and Spanish discussed above and the promotion of Spanish and English literacy by the Spanish press that the linguistic community in Laredo supported the learning of English and the maintenance of Spanish. Parents sought English and Spanish instruction for their children and fought the subtractive “English-Only” practice in public education. Adults also understood the pragmatic value of English and sought opportunities to learn it, especially as they related to doing business in a bilingual community. Laredo was a vibrant, bilingual community determined to hold on to its Mexican culture and language and work, yet interested in the learning of English.

4.3. Language Choice and Use in the Courts

An area in the public domain that provides evidence of Spanish language use even in an environment where English was the official language is the criminal and civil courts of Webb County. With presiding judges and lawyers who may not have always been from Laredo and were likely monolingual English speakers or limited Spanish

speakers, testimonies, evidence, or verdicts that were communicated in Spanish had to be translated either orally or in writing, depending on the circumstances.

The predominance of Spanish language use in the courts surfaces in the early 1880s. When juries were used in the proceedings, cases were sometimes appealed due to the fact that jury members were either citizens of Mexico who had not declared their Mexican citizenship at the time they were sworn in or could not really speak, read or write in English, or both. Defendants could also have limited English skills. Testimonies in several cases were given entirely in Spanish and then translated into English for the record. It is unknown whether they were simultaneously translated orally or read from the record after the testimonies were given. More evidence of Spanish language use is found in the Spanish written verdicts that are translated into English by another hand.

Exactly how the early courts accommodated for the fact that some of the plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses were monolingual Spanish speakers and the judges or some members of the jury were English monolingual speakers is unknown. Certainly, court translators or bilingual court reporters had to have been called in for certain cases or placed permanently on staff, because some written translations are found in the files. Unfortunately, the court records do not state the names of these translators. What they do provide is evidence that Spanish played a significant role in some of the cases. This we know from voluntary statements written in Spanish and Spanish newspaper articles or letters submitted as evidence. In some of the case files, testimonies written in Spanish provide evidence that these witnesses or defendants were monolingual Spanish speakers or preferred to speak in Spanish if they had limited English oral skills.

4.3.1. Cases Appealed on Language Issues

Three of the documented criminal cases were appealed in the early 1880s due to issues related to language. The first of these is Case #356, *The State of Texas vs. Jesús Carbajal*. Matt Upery, attorney for the defendant, appealed the case on several grounds. Two reasons that were struck from the record but appear in the documents include: “That defendant being a poor ignorant Mexican was not able to understand the English Language in which he was tried” and “That when defendant was brought into court and informed as to his rights under the law that such information was not thoroughly understood by defendant.” The judge overruled the appeal, probably based on the statement of the prosecutor who swore that the defendant had refused a lawyer, cross-examined the witnesses himself, offered no testimony of his own and even addressed the jury. No mention of what language Carbajal used to address the jury or examine the witnesses himself is noted, but if Upery was not lying and the defendant did not understand English well enough and did not speak it, then that meant the one could speak in one’s own defense, even if it was in Spanish. Otherwise, Upery would not have been able to even enter the appeal (Criminal Case #356, April 21, 1880).

Case #387 was appealed on the grounds that one of the jurors selected could not understand the English language. The attorney argued that the judge found the juror could understand English even though he “did not pronounce it well” when in fact “he could not speak, read or write the English language.” Further the judge, erroneously dispensed with the test of reading and writing based on a Code of Procedure that states it can be waived “where it appears to the Court that the requisite number of jurors who are

able to read and write, cannot be found in the County.” The attorney argued that even though the County was sparsely populated, no facts were provided that proved the court could not find individuals who were able to read and write in English. The court determined that “there was error in the judgment of the District Court of Webb County” so the appeal was upheld (Criminal Case #387, July 20, 1882).

In the case of *The State of Texas vs. Esmerijildo Armendaris*, the appeal was based on the fact that four jurors who served on the panel swore they were U.S. citizens but were not. Counsel for the defense later determined that “in fact they were citizens of Mexico.” Judge J. M. Hurt ruled in Armendaris’ favor and a new trial was granted (Criminal Case #361, February 4, 1881).

4.3.2. Jury Verdicts in Spanish

Among the criminal cases tried between 1879 and 1880, eight had verdicts written in Spanish, signed by the foreman attesting to the verdict, and then translated into English for the record. (Criminal Cases #314, 315, 316, 318, 320, 326, 327, 338, and 353). Civil case records from 1876 also contain Spanish verdicts (Civil Cases # 163, 169, 170, and 171). These Spanish verdicts are important. If the foremen were writing in Spanish, then it is logical to conclude that the deliberations in these cases were probably occurring in Spanish or in both English and Spanish.

4.3.3. Oral or Written Testimonies in Spanish

A number of cases heard testimony in Spanish because those involved (defendants, plaintiffs, or witnesses), were Spanish monolinguals or at least were not conversant or literate enough in English to make oral or written statements in court. For

example, the 1870 case of Francisco Martínez is in Spanish and no translation exists in the files. The first part of the document uses quite formal language and is written in the third person, the standard style for formal court records, so someone besides Martínez had to have written it. One can infer, then, that those hearing the case were Spanish speakers themselves and that the court had people on staff who could prepare written petitions for people who were illiterate or assist them in the drafting of the documents.

In a case from 1881, the plaintiff is the mother of a six-year old child, both of whom live in Nuevo Laredo. Since this was an appealed case, the judgment, written in English, includes the testimony of the mother. Given the fact that they did not live in Laredo, the mother and child are unlikely to have been speakers of English and therefore the testimony had to have been given in Spanish and translated after the fact (Criminal Case # 371, February 11, 1881).

Two criminal cases dating from 1928 include testimonies of the defendants written in Spanish in formal documents titled “Voluntary Statements.” In the first case, two voluntary statements by the defendant are written in Spanish but in different handwriting. The defendant’s signature is the same on both documents and does not match the handwriting of either case, so it is clear that two separate court employees transcribed the oral statement from the accused (Criminal Case # 1150, January 16, 1928). In the second case, the defendant’s signature does not match the handwriting in which the Spanish statement is written either so a court employee must have taken down the defendant’s oral testimony. (Criminal Case # 7498, June 23, 1928). No reference is made to the literacy of the accused in either case, so it is difficult to tell whether it was

common practice for someone in the courts to write down the statements or if this was done just for those who could not write in their own hand. In any case, it is clear that bilingual speakers and writers were critical in court proceedings.

Another example of oral testimony likely given in Spanish was part of a property civil case. The file contains a deposition statement regarding house deeds the plaintiff received from her mother. The plaintiff, Carolina Hall, reads: “I could not describe these papers because they were written in English and I cannot read English. She left these papers with me together with other papers when she died. I have the papers yet.” Although it is possible that she could speak English, but not read it, it is certain that Spanish was her preferred language, and the statement that appears in English is probably a translation of her testimony (Civil Case # 968, April 19, 1894).

Numerous other trials took place that included the testimonies of individuals who only knew Spanish. The bigamy case of Cruz Jiménez (Criminal Case # 7592, January 14, 1929), and two sodomy cases, that of José Pérez (Criminal Case # 6730, November 16, 1925), and Juan López (Criminal Case # 6731, November 27, 1925), all contain statements by the defendant that were given in Spanish, written in Spanish by someone else and then translated. Both English and Spanish versions appear in the court records. Other informal statements in Spanish appear in the court records that are signed by both the defendant and a witness.

4.3.4. Spanish Correspondence and Newspapers as Evidence

Sometimes other Spanish documents that were not testimonies, such as newspapers or correspondence, were introduced as evidence in trials. For example, In

the case of the State of Texas vs. Charles Phillips, the love letters written in Spanish and exchanged between him and his ex-lover, Josefina Martínez, were used as evidence of their illicit affair. The court file does not indicate that the letters were translated to English. Perhaps the pertinent parts of the letters were translated orally or were understood by all involved in the proceedings.

Spanish newspapers also played a key role in court deliberations. Four criminal libel cases introduce Spanish newspapers as evidence: C. Learte Santistiban vs. B. M. Alexandar (Criminal Case #6601, May 1925); Nicasio Idar vs. Amador Sánchez, (Criminal Case #4925, May 10, 1913); Prisciliano Aldama vs. The State of Texas (Criminal Case #4956, November 17, 1913) and Carlos M. Samper vs. H.F. Valdez (Criminal Case # 4965, December 8, 1913) contain the original clippings of the newspapers involved, all of which had to be translated for the record. For example, Carlos Samper wrote an article that appeared in the Spanish newspaper, *El Progreso*, stating that H.F. Valdez was a Mexican renegade because he was showing moving pictures that portrayed Mexicans as traitors and evil-doers in his movie theater. So H.F. Valdez sued him for defamation and the article that Samper wrote was used as evidence. The file has the original article cut-out of the newspaper and it is translated in an official document and presented as evidence.

It is clear from the aforementioned court cases that Spanish was used frequently in the court system, particularly in the early years, because it was necessary to dispense justice. Some documents entered as evidence were in Spanish, testimonies were given in Spanish, and/or juries deliberated in Spanish. Probably some of the judges and attorneys

in such cases were bilingual, or if they were monolingual English speakers, court interpreters must have been present to translate verdicts or oral testimonies. It is more likely that the second situation obtained, since the records show that the majority of the judges and attorneys had English surnames: John C. Russell, Judge for the 25th district court, J. F. Mullally, District Court Judge, A. L. McLane, Attorney for Defense, William E. Cummings, District Attorney, W. H. Moury, Clerk District Court, E. Hall, Clerk District Court, Joe R. Davis, Clerk District Court and John Valls, Clerk District Court. The only Spanish name that surfaced in the records reviewed was Angel Navarro, Attorney for the Defense. However some of the District Court Clerks were most likely locals and bilingual. John A. Valls, for example, was born in Mexico, identified Spanish as his mother tongue, his profession as lawyer and his occupation as District Attorney (1930 U. S. Federal Census Record). Judge John C. Russell appeared in the Corpus Christi census and probably was a visiting judge, but Judge John F. Mullaly was living in Laredo in 1930. He was 72 at the time, born in Illinois, and likely did not know Spanish. A search for Cummings and McLane in the 1930 census records yielded no results.

4.4. Language Choice and Use in Private Correspondence

Public and private documents provide very different linguistic information about language choice and use. Whereas documents in public domains, such as government and court records and newspapers, have multiple, public audiences and specific purposes, private correspondence is written with usually one reader in mind. And although the purposes of private correspondence may vary from business letters to love

matters, it still provides rich linguistic information about how individuals communicate without the worry of public scrutiny. Their writing is perhaps less guarded, more informal if the purpose permits, and consequently provides a more accurate picture of language use in daily life. Their language choice and use also capture a linguistic profile of other people who come from the same demographic background and who lived during the same period, thus providing important information about language use in a particular community.

The individuals included in the collections represent the full gamut of Spanish speakers, from monolinguals who state in their letters that they have no knowledge of English, like Rafael San Miguel Jr., to those who are competently bilingual, as attested by their own correspondence and other historical facts known about them, like Clemente Idar. Even though Spanish monolingual speakers did not need to learn English to function comfortably in Laredo and the surrounding area, English was still recognized by some as valuable and worthy of study. This was particularly true after the 1880s, when the railroads brought a large influx of Anglos and foreigners to settle in the area.

Although the primary focus of the research is language attitudes related to the use of Spanish, Spanish speakers' attitudes regarding their learning of English are of interest because these attitudes can impact a speakers' Spanish language maintenance. Laredo was isolated prior to the arrival of the railroad. It is thus not surprising that in the earliest collection, that of John Z. Leyendecker and the Benavides family (1860 to 1867), no mention is made of anyone knowing or speaking English. However, that does not mean that they did not. The male Benavides members represented in the collection, brothers

Santos and Cristobal, served in the U.S. military and in politics, a fact that most likely required them to know English to some degree. However, they all chose to write to their brother-in-law, John Z. Leyendecker, a German immigrant who also served in the military as quartermaster, in Spanish rather than English, which does indicate that either or both parties involved in the correspondence preferred to communicate in that language. The majority of letters to Leyendecker are written by females such as his mother-in-law, Tomasa, his wives, Andrea and Juliana, and his daughter, Isabel. All correspondence from these women is in Spanish, with no reference to or apparent influence from English. Only a few English loan words appear in Leyendecker's letters.

By contrast the Rafael San Miguel Jr. and Clemente and Federico Idar collections provide substantive evidence that some of the correspondents were undertaking the study of English, either privately or through their formal schooling. The most complete linguistic biography is that of Rafael San Miguel Jr. whose collection contains several letters over a period of thirteen years, from 1915 to 1928, which comment on his successful efforts to learn English. Two sources provide this information: his father, Rafael San Miguel, Sr. and his Anglo friend and confidante, Elizabeth Baldrige. His father's letters mention that Rafael, Jr. started to take English lessons sometime in the summer of 1915 while he was working in Laredo. Rafael was born in 1900, so he was 15 years old at the time (U.S. 1910 Federal Census Records). Even before Rafael Jr. started classes, his father encouraged him to learn English since it was so useful to them in their present circumstances.

...y también procura aplicarte al aprendizaje del inglés, que | tan útil se nos presenta en las actuales circunstancias. No pierdas la | oportunidad de coger hoy una palabra y mañana otra, y así tendrás des- | pués de algún tiempo un caudal de conocimientos. (S186: 31-36)

...and also try to dedicate yourself to learning English, since it is so useful to us in our present circumstances. Do not miss the opportunity to learn one word today and another tomorrow, and that way after some time you will have a wealth of knowledge.

In a letter dated August 11, 1915, Rafael Sr. writes:

Supongo que para ahora estés contento con tu trabajo, o casi contento, | puesto que ya estarás recibiendo tu clase de inglés y en la Botica sólo | estarás de siete y media de la mañana a siete y media de la tarde. (S193, 4-6)

I suppose that by now you are happy with your work, or almost happy, now that you have begun your English classes and you only need to be at the drugstore from seven thirty in the morning to seven thirty at night.

One week later, Rafael Sr. writes that they are struggling but that they want him to continue work so that he can continue his English classes.

...y con ese mismo objeto de- | bes tú también informarte por allá en qué otra parte pudieras coloca- | rte una corta temporada, que será indispensable permanecer allá a fin | de que te aproveches de tus clases de inglés. (S194: 15-18)

...and with this same objective you should also find out where else you can get settled for a short period, as it shall be absolutely necessary for you to remain there so that you can make the most of your English classes.

No details regarding where or with whom he was studying are provided. When Rafael's working conditions at the pharmacy did not improve, his parents decided he should come back to Zapata. Rafael Sr. tells him not to stop taking English lessons until his return is imminent.

A tu profesora de inglés, dile que estábamos | muy conformes con sus trabajos; pero que la circunstancia de que no | puedes continuar en la botica en las condiciones que lo deseábamos, | me obligan a retirarte de la población para establecernos por acá. (S195: 18-21)

No te retires de la clase de inglés sino hasta última hora. (S195: 27)

Tell your English teacher that we were very happy with her work, but since your working conditions are no longer what we had hoped for you, we are requiring you to return and settle here.
Continue going to class until the very end.

How Rafael continued his English studies is uncertain, but his correspondence with Elizabeth Baldrige from 1920 to 1928 confirms that he continued to improve his language skills over time. The letters do not indicate whether he was attending night school, learning English on his own or as a by-product of his correspondence with her. Baldrige does give Rafael direction regarding what he needs to do to improve his English, mainly by looking up words in the dictionary she suspects he does not know. Since she was an English teacher, she most certainly felt comfortable dispensing such advice. On September 29, 1927 and November 13, 1927 she writes respectively:

Do | you think Miss Shanks might have | attacks? If so, better not go.
^(Look in the | English dictionary to see what Shanks means^). | Small dictionaries may not give it but | big ones do. Did you say her name | was Shanks or Shaks? (S45c, 83-89)

Amigo mío: Read the enclosed slowly | and when there is a word that you | do not fully understand the mean- | ing of in English, look it up in | the English dictionary. (S46, 1-5)

As early as 1920, he began to write letters in English to Miss Elizabeth B. Baldrige. By 1927, Miss Baldrige's letters mention Rafael's improvement in English. Nonetheless, he is not very confident about his skills. Miss Baldrige writes:

Rafael, you hurt my feelings when | you say, ‘Please don’t show anyone | my miserable English.’ | In the first place, you write nice | English and in the second place | I am your friend. Friends don’t | show up mistakes; if a friend | should make one. They always | cover up a friend’s mistake and | forget it. | Boy, you speak nice English and | write good English too. (S45c, 1-12)

On January 19, 1928, when explicating an English verse that speaks to the nature of men and women during courtships, she states, “I hope you can get the real | meaning of the verse, Rafael, | in English. I do wish I could | express it in Spanish, so you | would be sure to get the full | force of it.” (S47, 31-36) She continues, “Well, if you don’t understand | it, take it off on a piece | of paper on typewriter and | ask Joe to give you a full | interpretation of it in Spanish.” (S47, 51-55)

Baldrige comments on Rafael’s improvement in English in two letters, one dated March 13, 1928 and the other dated June 18, 1928. Rafael was 28 years old at the time, so these statements are made thirteen years after he started his first English lessons in Laredo.

My, my, | but you are learning English | so fast. You are learning to | express yourself beauty- | fully in English. (S49, 2-6)

Your splendid letter *received*. | Thank you. You beat the | girls, all to death writing a | newsy English letter. You | surely are learning English | fast. I remember when | you could hardly speak | English and wrote it less, | and now you are getting | just perfect in composition | and letter form. I am so | proud of you. (S50, 2-13)

Another individual whose first language was Spanish but was learning English as a second language is Hope (Esperanza) Dilly, one of several girlfriends that corresponded with Rafael Jr. The one letter in Spanish attests to her native Spanish

skills, while her six letters in English are evidence of her intermediate English skills, although there are no direct references to her study of English directly. These letters were written to Rafael during a short period when she was studying in Corpus Christi, Texas, and also when she is back in Laredo. They contain errors that Spanish speakers learning English would make: word choice, *it sure drew off all my blues*, tense formation errors, *you didn't went*, dropped expletive subject, *because is too late*, double negatives, *I didn't have none*, and subject verb agreement, *I thought that you was*. Other letters contain similar and many other examples of ESL errors (cf. Appendix C, letters S51-57).

The following is a short excerpt from one of Hope's letters written June 1924.

Changing this subject I'll | tell you that the 9th of May was | the first bath that we took in | the beautiful north beach. There are | lots of bathing places, but that | one is the most aristocrat, I may | say the highest. Won't you | like to be here? We go often because | the conductor of the *normal* give | all the students a card so that | we don't have to pay nothing. (S51, 25-35)

Her letter in Spanish dated July 7, 1926 starts:

Dearest Rafael, | *No te puedes imaginar | los días tan amargos que | me he pasado para poder | fingir que mi corazón no | sufre; lo único que quiero | saber es que por qué no | viniste el domingo siendo | que me prometiste, dejándome | en confusión, sin saber cual | fue la causa de no contestarme.* (S57, 1-11)

Dearest Rafael, You cannot imagine the bitter days I have spent trying to pretend that my heart is not suffering; the only thing I want to know is why you didn't come on Sunday being that you promised me, leaving me confused, without knowing the reason for your not answering me.

It is obvious from the excerpt above, which includes a lengthy subordinated sentence, that Hope was a much more capable writer in Spanish than in English. Why

she chose to correspond with Rafael in English when his first language was Spanish and when she was so much more competent in Spanish herself is unknown. Perhaps they agreed to correspond in English so they could practice with each other, or Hope may have been unaware of her deficiencies in English and was eager to construct a bilingual or English speaking identity for herself, such as her name choice, Hope for Esperanza, suggests.

By contrast, Josefina Benavides, whose 111 letters comprise the largest part of the San Miguel collection, writes letters in Spanish addressed to Rafael San Miguel Jr., a Spanish monolingual when he began his romantic relationship with Josefina. Josefina's first language had to have been Spanish, since the 1910 U.S. Census Records indicate that her mother was a Spanish monolingual and her father bilingual. However, she was not confident of her Spanish writing skills. She occasionally makes metalinguistic statements regarding her inability to express herself as she would have liked, but she never resorts to English with the exception of months of the year, short valedictions or comments. Even though she was not highly skilled in written Spanish, her writing did improve over time. This was probably due to her ten-year correspondence with Rafael whose Spanish was superior to hers, her intellectual maturation, and perhaps opportunities to study it in school. As one would expect, the few letters in the collection from Rafael to her are all in Spanish.

On the other hand, the correspondence of the Idar family provides evidence that at least the older siblings in the family, which include Clemente, Jovita, Federico, Eduardo and Elvira, were highly skilled in Spanish. The younger siblings, Moisés,

Juvencio and Aquilino, write well, but since only one or two short letters were written during the period under study, it is harder to judge the range of skills. In the case of Moisés, for example, the one letter contains several orthographic irregularities of everyday lexicon, a telltale sign that they probably had less practice writing in Spanish than Clemente, Jovita, Federico, and Eduardo, all of whom were heavily involved in the newspaper business. Even so, Spanish was the siblings preferred language when writing to each other, although they were bilingual. For example, of the nine letters written by Clemente to his brother Federico, only one is written in English. The only other letters in English among siblings are one from Juvencio to Federico, one from Juvencio to Clemente (in not very good English), and one from Aquilino to Federico that contains some English towards the end. Nevertheless, these letters indicate that they did use English to communicate among each other when they chose to do so. Clemente also wrote to his wife, María Lorenza, whom he addressed as Laura, and their daughter, in English. His letters to his daughter are an indicator that by the third generation English becomes the language of preference, as cited by numerous other studies (Silva-Corvalán, 2001:308; Bernal-Enríquez 2000). Although there were no letters by Jovita Idar in English in the collection, the content of one letter where she makes reference to seeking a job as an interpreter provides evidence that she was a competent bilingual (see Chapter 4, section 4.5.1.).

In sum, both the Leyendecker-Benavides and Idar families corresponded in Spanish. In the Leyendecker family, none of the family members used English to write to each other. This includes three generations, Tomasa Cameros de Benavides,

Leyendecker's mother-in-law, his two wives, Andrea and Juliana, his daughter Isabel, and his brothers-in-law, Santos and Cristobal. This fact indicates that Spanish was the dominant language in the Leyendecker-Benavides family. Although Leyendecker probably knew some English as well since he was quartermaster in the army and also served as postmaster for Laredo for a period of time, he did not choose English to communicate with his family.

In the Idar family, even though almost all the correspondence is in Spanish, there is evidence that some of the siblings chose to write to each other in English once in a while. Nonetheless, there is a clear pattern of strong Spanish maintenance in the family even though the siblings were bilingual and second generation Texans on their father's side.

4.5. Evidence of English Impact on Spanish Language Use

An analysis of the Spanish newspapers, the Webb County Court Records, and the 243 letters of private correspondence and 15 court documents included in this investigation was conducted to determine the extent of English influence on the Spanish written word in the public and private domains. The most noticeable influence is at the lexical level, with the majority of the items falling under the category of loan words, nonce borrowings or single word code-switching, although some phrasal code-switching was found as well, which according to Poplack requires a certain level of linguistic competence in two languages (1980: 230).

4.5.1. Impact of English on the Spanish Press

One segment of the public domain that captured the impact of English on Spanish language use was the Spanish press. Cognizant of the fact that they were not only purveyors of information but also promoters of Spanish language, education and culture, the Spanish-language newspapers aimed to raise the level of Spanish literacy through their publications (Kanellos & Martell 2000: 7). Laredo Spanish newspapers were no exception. However, this did not mean that they were immune to the daily impact of English or unwilling to include it, particularly when it came to advertising. English ads and English words and phrases appear sporadically in advertisements or articles, testimony of the fact that when two languages are spoken in the same community some degree of borrowing is inevitable. Additionally, the use of English in Spanish newspapers serves as a reminder that the readership in many cases was bilingual. Even those who were Spanish monolinguals probably had some level of English reading skills.

4.5.1.1. Advertisements

Advertisements provide linguistic information not just about the advertiser but also about the community that advertisers aim to persuade. In the case of Laredo Spanish newspapers, a noticeable feature is the inclusion of ads written entirely in English, peddling medical remedies, new products, or job opportunities. Most of these originate from places outside of Laredo, generally from the northern states. The supposition is that enough of the subscribers were at least readers of English; otherwise these advertisers would probably not have placed the ads.

Of the twelve Spanish newspapers reviewed, six ran English ads, including *El Correo de Laredo*, *La Colonia Mexicana*, *La Crónica*, *El Demócrata Fronterizo*, *El Horizonte* and *El Diputado*, some over a period of months or a year. *El Horizonte* in the March 2, 1885 issue includes a short notice indicating that a Mr. Brian Marquette of New York is serving as a “special agent,” presumably a marketing agent, a fact that explains some of the out-of-state, English ads that appear in these newspapers. *El Correo de Laredo*, *La Colonia Mexicana*, *La Crónica*, and *El Demócrata Fronterizo* might have had some similar arrangements, since all regularly feature English advertisements. Some examples of medical or health-related ads include an article titled *To Consumptives*, which originated in New York, as well as an ad for *Coraline Health Corsets*, both advertised in *La Colonia Mexicana* (May 6, 1891: 4 and 5). *A Quick Acting Laxative* and *Dr. King’s New Discovery* ads appear in *El Demócrata Fronterizo* (June 8, 1907: 2) while another for stomach troubles titled *Electric Bitters* appears in *La Crónica* (April 18, 1914: 40). Other English ads feature products such as the *New Home Sewing Machine* from New York (*El Horizonte*, October 11, 1884: 3), *Ferry’s Seed Annual* for 1884 from Detroit, Michigan (*El Horizonte*, October 11, 1884: 1), *Alpines Safe & Cycle Co.* of Cincinnati, Ohio (*El Demócrata Fronterizo*, July 14, 1906: 2), *McCall’s Patterns* (*El Demócrata Fronterizo*, June 8, 1907: 2) or *Blackwell’s Bill Durham Smoking Tobacco*, from North Carolina (*El Correo de Laredo*, November 19, 1892: 3). A few solicit help, such as the want ad from New York for a “lady or gent, taking orders” or promote events, such as the one for the World Exposition in New Orleans (*El Diputado*, December 22, 1884: 3).

Other advertisements in the Spanish press written in Spanish occasionally include English loan words used to market certain products. Of the many newspaper issues reviewed, only a few ads were found that included loan words or code-switched. One is a restaurant ad for *Charles & Joe, Cantina*: “*Licores magníficos, añejos, importados, cerveza, ex[c]elente puros de primera calidad, **lunch** exquisito **all the time***” (*El Diputado*, December 22, 1884: 3). A clothing store lists goods sold: “*vendemos los famosos **pumps***” (April 16, 1910: 1). A barber shop lists services: “*shampoo, masage, razura y perfumes*” (*La Crónica*, April 30, 1910: 5). Speakers choose to incorporate loan words for any number of reasons. The restaurant owner probably had a bilingual lunch crowd in mind when he switched to English at the end of the phrase, but he chose to keep the word *exquisito* because Spanish speakers associate really good food with that term. Additionally, “lunch” specifies a noon meal, not a late lunch in the early afternoon, as is the custom in Mexico. The restaurant owner’s choice of “all the time” may just be a prestige borrowing, and “pumps” might be borrowed because it describes a particular type of heeled shoe, a term that does not have a one word equivalent in Spanish, so it is both more efficient and specific.

4.5.1.2. Feature Articles

The most notable use of English loan words appeared in sports articles covering baseball, boxing, and tennis events. One such article, “*Notas de sport*” used numerous English words or expressions: When writing about boxing, the sportswriter included the following phrases: “*disputará una serie de **rounds**; clases de **punch**, puñetazos.*” Another paragraph referring to tennis states the following: “*mañana se verificará ...un*

match at tennis.” The sports articles about baseball use more English loan words than other sports. Here are several examples: “*Catarino se hace notable por su **batting average**; dándole un **shut out**; Valenzuela dio un palo de **home run**; Corbelo hizo un bonito **double play**; estos **crazen bats** en San Antonio; un **score** de 16 carreras*” (*La Crónica*, May 14, 1910: 6). Similar terms and one instance of code-switching occur in another baseball sports article: “*los **pitchers**,” “sus mejores **players**,” “algunas personas piensan que Walker, el **manager** de nuestro **team**...*” “*Los **fans** se portaron peor que el **team** de Corpus...*” (*La Crónica*, April 30, 1910: 1, May 7, 1910: 3 and May 14, 1910: 6). The writer of these two articles shows his metalinguistic awareness when he refers to the fact that if the baseball leagues get organized in Mexico, translations for the common terms will be created. He precedes this statement with a short translation guide for the terms so his readers can understand the loan words.

*También se ven estas frases, **runs scored**, carreras marcadas; **base on balls**, a base en bolas; **struck out**, fuera sin pegar; **double plays**, jugadas dobles; **base on error**, a base sobre error; **shut out**, juego cerrado; y otras frases de que muy pronto encontrarán traducción si es que se organizan las ligas en México. (*La Crónica*, May 7: 3)*

This statement evinces the writer’s awareness of his use of loan words to write about the sport, and makes clear that he does so because of the absence of equivalent words in Spanish.

For the most part, the Spanish press used few loan words, semantic calques, or English expressions in local articles or advertisements. A few exceptions, such as the use of the word “mayor” for “*alcalde*,” a semantic calque extension, appeared in Spanish

ads and articles when Carlos McLane was running for office in 1893. “*Invitado para que acepte mi postulación para **Mayor** de la ciudad en las próximas elecciones de Abril (sic) de 1893, me presento como candidato para ese puesto*” (*El Correo de Laredo*, February 2, 1893: 3). Other examples include “*el joven **bachelor***” (*La Cronica*, April 30, 1910:3); “*un **meeting***” (*El Correo de Laredo*, November 1, 1891:1); “*tomaron hoy un **buggy***” (*El Correo de Laredo*, August 26, 1891); “***Time is money***” (*La Crónica*, April 2, 1910: 1). Determining why writers borrow words from another language is often difficult. In the case of the semantic calque extension “mayor,” its existence as a Spanish word in its own right and perhaps the similarity of its Spanish meaning as the eldest in a family or of someone who merits respect, as in “*Es tu mayor*” or “He is your elder” makes the extension to someone in authority more likely; consequently, the semantic change may have been too subtle to be noticed. Why individuals choose certain loan words is even more difficult to determine. One known factor is the prestige of the L2. The words “bachelor” may have more allure in a bilingual community than the word *soltero* in Spanish. The sentence appears in a social column, not a serious news story, so a more playful tone probably also invites the use of this word. The loan word “meeting” appears in a dialogue excerpt from a literary piece, probably included as a small detail of character development. Lastly, the phrase “Time is money” is a popular adage that reflects the value that the Anglo culture places on time. Some of that cultural weight would certainly get lost in translation.

In a few rare cases, the Spanish press also features articles written entirely in English. For example, on the occasion of Don Nicasio Idar’s death, the publisher of *La*

Crónica, the article written and published in *The Laredo Times* was copied in its entirety in *La Crónica*, an indicator that some subscribers could read English or were bilingual (April 18, 1914).

Overall, the Spanish press practiced what it preached, a loyal devotion to the Spanish language and a desire to promote and support it by setting high standards for its use. It is not surprising that some level of pride in the Spanish language kept the written form in the press generally free from English transfers. However, this fact does not necessarily indicate that oral language use was not influenced by English contact. As we shall see in Chapter 5, section 5.5.2, newspaper contributors were well aware of the practice of code-switching evident in the speech of Laredoans and had strong opinions about it.

4.5.2. Impact of English in Private Correspondence and Personal Court Statements

The impact of English on Spanish in private correspondence and personal court statements reviewed in this study was quite limited as well, particularly in the correspondence given the number of letters reviewed and the writers involved. Most instances fell into the category of borrowings, which is not surprising given that borrowing requires a minimum level of fluency in the L2 (Lipski 2003; Pfaff 1979). As in the case of the newspapers, the majority of the borrowings are also single loan words, but the level of integration varies. Two are nativized loan words, which morph into Spanish sounding words; others are established loan words that appear frequently or nonce borrowings, which appear infrequently (Romaine 1989: 61). Even though several

writers in this study are fluent bilinguals, only one instance of code-switching, which is practiced by fluent bilinguals, was found in the correspondence.

4.5.2.1. Nativized Loan Words

Two single phonologically and morphologically adapted loanwords were found. In both instances, the noun is pluralized by the addition of the Spanish suffix *-es*. The first is *deimes*, borrowed from the English word “dimes.” The English diphthong /aj/ becomes the Spanish diphthong /ei/. “*N. B. Papel no es muy escaso con nosotros como envían | eso boletito pero [por] los pesos y **deimes***” (L1, 43). “N.B. Paper is not very scarce with us since they send this ticket but [in place of] the *pesos* and dimes.”

The other, *saines* for *signs*, is very similar. This time the English diphthong /aj/ is represented orthographically by the diphthong /ai/ and the Spanish plural suffix *-es* after a consonant completes the nativization of the loan word. “*Tres días con toi y sus noches | correndo desesperado | por ver si viamos pronto | **saines** de otros estados*” (M241, 28). “Three days and nights running desperately to see if we could see other state signs.”

4.5.2.2. Loan Words

The most established loan words found refer to banking operations and currency, i.e., *check* and *dollars*, both of which are used by different writers and thus appear more than once in various spellings: “*un chek para que lo cobren*” written by a Spanish monolingual (S191, 3-4), and “*No te remito un check este día*” (I219, 12) written by a bilingual. *Dollar* is found six times and used by two writers.

le pago un dollar diario (I219, 5); *De esto reuní como | \$70.00 o \$30,00 dollars de los cuales yo alcansé | como ¢25.00 o \$30.00 dollars* (C256, 26-28)

Since the loan word *dollars* has not been nativized like the words *saines* and *deimes*, i.e., the plural form suffix *es* has not replaced English *-s*, it is impossible to know whether they would have pronounced it in English or Spanish. Still, it would seem unlikely that between number and currency the English pronunciation would have prevailed. Although only one writer used the loan word *okay*, here written as “*Estamos O.K.*” (I233, 6), it is included in this category since it is known to be a commonly used loan word. Another established loan word was *picnic*: “*Supe del picnic que tuvieron*” (S145, 27-28). This word has been so integrated into Spanish that it is included in less traditional contemporary on line dictionaries. A search in CORDE resulted in 2000 cases, as early as 1899 but mostly from the 1930s-1950s, all in some kind of newspaper or bulletin. However, the *Diccionario de la lengua española, vigésima segunda edición*, does not include it, a sign that it is still classified as a foreign word. Additionally, one writer uses the word “porter”, instead of *camarero* or *mozo*. She writes “*¿No has visto a Villegas, uno que anda de porter en los carros Pullman de aquí a México?*” (I225, 33). An entry in the Oxford Spanish Dictionary indicates that “porter” is commonly used in Mexico so its lack of frequency in the collection is due to topic since it is not a word that frequently comes up in conversation.

4.5.2.3. Nonce Borrowings

These include single use loan words. Some appear more often but are idiosyncratic to the writer, unlike the established loan words presented in 4.4.2.3. A

number of these are dates, forms of address, or events. The majority appear as in the headings of Josefina Benavides' letters to Rafael San Miguel Jr., her long time boyfriend, with the months written in English, sometimes abbreviated and sometimes not, and day and year following in the usual English format, e.g. *Jan. 10, 1921*. She also uses "Mr." instead of *Sr.* Rafael San Miguel for the internal address of numerous letters (S161, HD). These are telltale signs of Josefina's bilingualism, identity markers that she includes in her letters perhaps as reminders to him that her linguistic background is different than his or that she did not know the epistolary formulas in Spanish. Another admirer, Hope, uses the word "Dearest" Rafael in one letter and then writes the rest of the letter in Spanish (S57, 1). Other words used more than once but by Josefina Benavides include "over" used at the bottom of a page to indicate the letter continues (S66, S171), "cutie" as in the valediction "*tu cutie*" (S170, 31; S171, 21) and "gasoline" (M241, 72; M241, 81).

Other borrowings include items such as "truck," "fox," and "cigarettes" as in "*pasó un truck*" (S169, 10-24); *se | me ocurrió hacer ese fox y | pensé en Ud. de manera que | si no es de su agrado, lo rrompe*" (S58, 7-11); and "*47 cartones de Chesterfield cigarrets*" (C256, 41). The latter is a good example of a borrowing that probably occurs because the switch is triggered by the English brand name Chesterfield. Another loan word, "bushel," is a reference to the measurement of corn in bushels, which explains why Leyendecker would use the term in "*Vale ...2 pesos el bushel*" (L1, 16-17). Lastly, the loan word "Christmas" is spelled in English, "*yo nunca pensé | en obsequiarte nada de | Christmas*" (S107, 33-38).

4.5.2.4. Code-switching

Only one instance of intra-sentential code-switching was found in a letter written by Aquilino Idar addressed to his older brother, Federico. Reminiscent of Poplack's seminal article title "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en español*," Aquilino starts a sentence in Spanish and finishes it in English, leading to a final set of English sentences as he closes his letter.

Te aseguro que va a ganar de \$ | catorse (sic) dollars per week. Well, I think its (sic) all for today. | Write me as soon as possible. | Love to all from your brother (I96, 14-17).

I assure you that I am going to earn fourteen dollars per week.

In this code-switch, the shift from Spanish to English is made between the amount, *catorce* or fourteen, and the notation of currency, "dollars." Perhaps Aquilino is prompted to switch to English in writing because it is more comfortable for him to write "dollars" than *dólares*. Once that switch in writing has occurred, the rest follows in English as well. As noted by Lipski, fluent bilinguals often switch to an L2 once a "trigger" noun is introduced in that language (2008: 234).

4.5.3. Borrowings from Spanish into English

The impact of English/Spanish contact is also observable in the borrowings of Spanish words or phrases into English. The following few examples appear in the letters written by Baldridge, an English monolingual who had learned some Spanish vocabulary. Many of these are social words, words learned from conversations in social settings. Similar words have been noted by Moyna and Beckman (2008). The words

that follow are sprinkled throughout Baldrige's 50 letters, most of which were not transcribed since they were written in English: "attacks *de amor*," "a boy who has a *novia*," "a real *pelado*," "Rafael San Miguel Jr. may marry someone, some day (*quien sabe*)," "I will let *El Rey* bring Maria," "from my *viejo amor*," "find a *cabrito* for Celia," "now listen, *amigito* (sic)," "*Muy amigo mío*," "E's mother is *brava*," and "nearly all the *rancheras* from Comitán." Of these the most frequently used by the writer are *novia* and *El Rey*, the latter because it is the nickname for someone she knows. The word *novia* appears many times since she uses it consistently instead of using "girlfriend." The word *novio* and *novia* also appear in a bilingual writer's letter to Baldrige so the use of the term, regardless of gender, seems to be an established loan word. Another English monolingual friend of San Miguel (letter not transcribed) writes, "No doubt you are refreshing yourself these warm days *with mucho* (sic) *cerveza*," and "I was always under the impression you had little or no use at all for this blond-haired *maestra* who taught in your homogeneous community the past season." One interesting switch from English to Spanish includes Spanish verb inserted in an English sentence followed by a complete sentence in Spanish. "This letter *debes* translate to grandmother. *Todos buenos en casa. Dick.*" These two sentences close a short letter written entirely in English to Federico Idar, obviously a relative of his and a strong clue that Dick was probably bilingual to some degree and was, at least, acquainted with some of the common expressions.

4.6. Summary

The data gathered from the public and private domain indicate that Laredo embraced an "ideology of preservation" that helped not only maintain the Spanish

language but demanded that its use be respected. Laredoans accepted the fact that English was the language of public institutions, i.e. the schools and the court system, but that did not deter them from using Spanish. Some, by choice or necessity, learned English to better their economic opportunities, as is evident from the existence of business and English language schools, but many chose to maintain and support Spanish language use by sending their children to *escuelitas* and private Spanish and bilingual schools and opting out of the “English- Only” instruction in the schools. In the press, Spanish newspapers thrived, giving their readership another option besides the English newspaper, providing cultural support and contributing to Spanish language literacy.

The courts conducted their affairs in English, but individuals operating within the system, either as defendants, prosecutors or jurors, used Spanish when necessary or convenient. Numerous verdicts written in the jurors’ hand were in Spanish and then translated for the record. Oral testimonies were also transcribed and translated from Spanish to English. The fact was that knowledge of Spanish was vital to an understanding of court proceedings and even if testimonies and documents could be translated, those who were bilingual certainly had an advantage when cases of this sort were heard.

In the private domain represented by the three collections, Spanish language maintenance is quite evident, as attested to by the almost exclusive use of Spanish found in the family correspondence. English impact was mostly limited to lexical borrowings. Only a few examples of code-switched sentences appear; however, this fact that does not mean that the bilinguals represented here did not code-switching in speech.

With regard to English impact on Spanish, rather limited evidence was found in the press and the collections. Besides the occasional use of English loan words in some newspaper advertisements, the majority of borrowings appeared in the sports sections. In the letters, some borrowings were identified, but only one instance of code-switching was found. Some evidence of borrowing from Spanish to English also surfaced. In sum, although English played a significant role in the Laredo community, its presence did not eliminate Spanish language use in the public and private domain.

The next section discusses the role that linguistic attitudes played in Laredo's history and presents evidence of both public and private support and criticism of Spanish and English use.

5. LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES

5.1. Introduction

This section addresses the second question which investigates what language attitude prevailed among Tejanos, Anglos, and foreigners regarding the use of Spanish in Laredo and the surrounding community. As stated in Hidalgo (1993) language use and attitude along the U.S. and Mexico border are inextricably woven. Thus the relationship between language attitudes and language choice has been an area of research interest in language maintenance and shift (Solé, 1973; Hidalgo, 1993; Rivera-Mills, 2000). Language attitudes that influence choice in bilingual speakers can be investigated using several methodologies, as noted in Section 2. Questionnaires or interviews are common instruments used by researchers when their subjects are living, but in the case of socio-historical linguistics these options are no longer available. Nonetheless, researchers can look for evidence about prevailing language attitudes present in a community by examining correspondence, newspaper editorials, or other historical documents written during the period in question. As Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996) have shown in their impressive diachronic studies of Renaissance English from 1420 to 1680, social factors do influence language use in ways that can be investigated on the basis of written documents. Thus, historical documents that capture social attitudes can also be worthwhile tools to investigate language maintenance and shift in a bilingual community (Balestra et al. 2008: 47-48). Consequently, for this research question language attitudes expressed in both private and public domains, i.e. letters, newspapers, and court documents, have been studied to determine whether Spanish language use was

encouraged or supported in Laredo and the surrounding community. Although these documents cannot determine in and of themselves the degree of Spanish language maintenance in this region, the information gathered does contribute to an understanding of what language preferences existed that may have influenced Spanish language maintenance or shift.

5.2. Language Confidence

It is not uncommon for bilingual speakers who do not have equal command of both languages to make statements regarding their lack of proficiency in one of these, or for learners of a second language to express uncertainty about their skills in the target language. Even monolinguals who have had little schooling may be aware that their writing skills need polish. The correspondence in the collections was reviewed to determine if any of the writers, bilingual or monolingual, expressed attitudinal statements about their own writing skills in Spanish.

Some comments indicate that the writers were insecure about their writing skills in Spanish because they had little time to write or revise, were poor writers in general, or had poor penmanship. One writer is insecure about what he has written as we can gather from the fact that he asks for the letter not to be shown to others by the recipient. “*No enseñe esta carta a nadie como está yena de borones | y no tengo tiempo de enmendarla*” (L16, 30, Santos Benavides). “Don’t show this letter to anyone since it is full of errors and I have no time to make corrections.” Another writer refers to her poor penmanship and indicates her lack of confidence in her literacy skills. “*Si se cansa de leer tan mala escritura, aviseme para no escribirle tanto*” (L34, 37, Tomasa Cameros).

“If you get tired of reading such poor handwriting, let me know so I don’t write so much.”

John Leyendecker, whose mother tongue was German and for whom Spanish is a second language, does not make any apologies about his poorly written Spanish in the one sample we have of his writing. This is interesting because his linguistic shortcomings are quite evident. In the following paragraph he writes, “*El arina me | cuestará aquí cosa de 2.75 pesos la aroba. En San Antonio | me dicen vale de 5 a 6 pesos la aroba. | Yo creo una careta buena puede llebar todos los | trastes que quieremos llevar.*” (L1, 6-9) “Flour will cost around 2.75 pesos per sack. I believe one sturdy wagon can carry all the dishes we want to take.” Here he has difficulty with stem changing verbs, e.g. “*cuestará*” instead of “*costará*” and “*quieremos*” instead of “*queremos*,” but his letter is riddled with other errors, e.g. syntax, agreement, and subjunctive mood. Still, he makes no apologies for his poor Spanish. It is possible that this absence of concern results from family members’ acceptance or understanding of his limited Spanish skills due to German being his mother language.

Comments can betray a writer’s insecurities, and in the case of long-term correspondence, some observable changes may surface. For example, Josefina Benavides (Rafael San Miguel Jr. collection 1914-1924) apologizes for her lack of Spanish skills in the first years of her correspondence with Rafael Jr.; however, overtime she gains confidence and those comments cease to appear. In the first letter, written August 19, 1914, she tells him not to laugh at her Spanish. “*Dispénseme que le | escriba con lapis | aunque es falta de | educación, pero | por acabar pronto. | Ni tampoco se*

vaya | *a reír de mi español*” (S67, 46-52). “Please forgive me for writing in pencil even though it shows a lack of education, but time is short. Also don’t laugh at my Spanish.” A few months later, on December 25, 1914, she asks that he excuse her errors, claiming she does not know how to write in Spanish. “*Rafael, dispénsame | si acaso tengo | algunas faltas | en el español por | que como yo no | sé escribir en | español y también | la letra dispénsame | porque estoy escri- | biendo de prisa*” (S68, 38-47). “Rafael, please excuse any errors I may have in Spanish because I don’t know how to write in Spanish and also excuse my handwriting because I am writing very quickly.” Almost a year later, on September 29, 1915, she makes a final reference to her deficiencies in Spanish writing skills as a quick postscript, “*Dispensa la letra y el español*” (S77, 46). “Please excuse my handwriting and my Spanish.” However, as she continues her correspondence with him, she becomes more confident about her writing or she feels secure enough in the relationship that Spanish proficiency is no longer a matter of concern, since she makes no reference to this in letters written after 1915, although she continues to apologize for her handwriting.

Although the primary focus of the research question are language attitudes related to the use of Spanish, monolingual Spanish speakers’ attitudes regarding their learning of English are of interest because these attitudes can impact a speakers’ Spanish language maintenance. If a student’s motivation for learning English is assimilation into the American culture, the writer may, as he gains fluency in English, prefer to communicate in English rather than Spanish and thus eventually use Spanish less and less. Conversely, if the Spanish speaker is learning English as a matter of necessity or

practicality but is not using English as an identity marker, he will likely continue speaking Spanish and thus maintain it.

Rafael San Miguel, Jr., probably provides an example of the second situation presented above. The correspondence between him and his father and Miss Baldrige, discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5.1., documents his serious study of English and his eventual success at learning it. His apologies to Baldrige regarding his English skills communicate his linguistic insecurity. As a businessman and banker, learning English would have been important to him, but in the limited number of letters that exist in the collection, no indicators exist that he was eager to shed his Mexican identity. The collection does include correspondence from two girls who are English monolinguals and not from Laredo or Zapata, whose letters were thus not transcribed, but in the end he marries Hortencia Ramírez, a bilingual Zapata native who corresponds with him in Spanish. His extended platonic relationship with Baldrige who apparently had some level of social stature and influence in Zapata, may speak to Rafael's ambition and interest in developing and maintaining that relationship beyond just practicing his English.

Unlike San Miguel, who is insecure about his English, Jovita Idar, the daughter of Nicolas Idar, seems quite sure of her bilingual linguistic abilities, expressing the possibility that she could be a newspaper correspondent in either language.

Yo estoy entusiasmada |en irnos a Tampico, ¿qué te parece? Se podría hacer algo. B[eto] con su | oficio y tal vez yo también podría trabajar de corresponsal en | inglés y español, ¿se podría? (I219, 27-30)

I am excited about going to Tampico. What do you think? Something could work out. B[eto] with his trade and perhaps I also could work as a correspondent in English and Spanish. Would this be possible?

One interesting observation that can be gathered from the attitudinal comments discussed above is that having a reader who is more skilled than the writer and that is not a family member contributes to a writer's lack of security. This is the case whether it was English or Spanish. For example, Josefina apologizes to Rafael, who knows more Spanish than she does, and Rafael apologizes for his English to Elizabeth for the same reason. Only Leyendecker, who is writing to family, seems unconcerned. Although Santos Benavides asks Leyendecker not to show his letter to anyone because it is full of mistakes, he is not concerned about Leyendecker's opinion, just that of others. Tomasa Cameros, however, does apologize to her son-in-law, Leyendecker, for her writing, but he is not a blood relation. Another possibility is that her apology stemmed from her deference to him, either because of his gender, his position in the military, or his position as patriarch of the family household. It certainly was not because his Spanish was superior to hers.

Since only one writer, Jovita Idar, expressed confidence about her bilingual skills, conclusions about general patterns cannot be made. Idar was a singularly outstanding female who distinguished herself as a leader in political and journalistic circles, and a feminist before the title existed. Given her experience, working as a translator would have been a logical option for her.

The absence of comments evincing linguistic insecurity points to writers' general self-confidence in their Spanish writing skills or their sense of closeness to the reader.

5.3. Spanish Language Loyalty

One writer who voices his loyalty to Spanish is Rafael San Miguel Sr. While he is highly supportive of Rafael's study of English (recall Chapter 4, section 4.4), he also encourages Rafael to practice his Spanish writing skills. In his letter dated April 12, 1915, Rafael, Sr. notes that his son's written Spanish is improving.

...veo que estas mejorando hasta en tu escritura y sobre todo en la redacción de tus cartas. Procura seguir mejorando en la materia, corrigiéndote de algunos pequeños defectos o errores que pudieras cometer... (S186, 28-31)

I see that your writing is improving, especially your composition skills. Do your best to continue improving in this area by eliminating or correcting errors that you might commit...

An interesting example of diminishing language loyalty is a bilingual girlfriend of Rafael, Esperanza (Hope) Dilly, whom we have already encountered in section 4.3. Her correspondence indicates that her language loyalty to Spanish diminishes over the years. Of the eight letters in the collection, only the last one is written in Spanish (See Appendix, S50-S56). The other seven are written in poor English. There are several possible reasons why she decided to use English in spite of her limited proficiency.

In the Spanish press, evidence of Spanish language loyalty is found in statements made by a variety of important personalities of the city. One such example is the well known, well-educated, and very respected Laredoan Leonor Villegas de Magnón. A feminist, political activist and close friend of the Idar family, Magnón contributed articles to *La Crónica* on a few occasions. She was fiercely proud of her Mexican heritage and the Spanish language. In 1911, she wrote a piece for *La Crónica*

titled *Adelanto de los mexicanos de Texas* in which she criticizes the common practice of code-switching in Spanish and English along the border. She reminds her readers that the Spanish language is rich and beautiful and that Spanish speakers have no need to rely on English to express themselves.

El vocabulario del mexicano en la frontera es pésimo y la tendencia de mezclar nuestro lindo y bello idioma con el ingles [sic] está muy arraigado. Con frecuencia se escuchan conversaciones principiadas en español sostenidas en inglés y terminadas en Español [sic] haciendo un horroroso 'pot pourri,' o usando las palabras salteadas, algunas en inglés y otras en español. Esta tendencia parece ser enfermedad crónica de los fronterizos. ¿Qué no es bastante rico nuestro propio idioma para sostener una conversación satisfactoriamente? ¡Y con cuanto orgullo cometemos estos errores, como si eso nos hiciera valer más! Debemos evitar éste abuso de lenguaje que predomina ahora. (September 21, 1911: 4)

The vocabulary of the Mexican on the border is abysmal and the tendency to mix our lovely and beautiful language with English is deeply rooted. With frequency, conversations are heard that begin in Spanish, continue in English, and end in Spanish resulting in a horrible *pot pourri* or using a word here in English, a word there in Spanish. This tendency seems to be a chronic illness among border residents. Is not our own language rich enough to sustain a satisfactory conversation? And with what pride we commit these errors, as if doing so makes us superior! We should avoid this abuse of language that is so predominant now.

This purist view of Spanish language use stems from a nationalist ideology initially born in Spain and embraced by Hispanic intellectuals across the pan-Hispanic world. As Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman explain (2002), Spain's need to exercise tight control over any threats to its national identity after its expansion and defeat in the New World required the establishment of a recognized national language, one that did not accept regional differences and idiosyncrasies (7). As Mexico and other Latin American countries emerged, language battles over what was "standard" Spanish in their

countries ensued, for they too had to “build their own nations” (9). Even for them, Spanish continued to be a visible representation of national identity and thus needed to be monitored and divergent uses from the norm labeled as stigmatized. In time, language battles soon expanded to hybrid language varieties such as U.S. Spanish as well because they embodied threats to language loyalty (201). Now the question arises, why would bilingual individuals, such as Villegas de Magnón, who lived in a bilingual community, be so offended by code-switching? Magnón was a Hispanic intellectual herself, well-educated, and from an aristocratic background, characteristics that align with Del Valle’s description of individuals who typically embrace a purist ideology. But it is also very clear that her national identity was Mexican, one that she was proud of. Spanish was a superior language in her view. No apologies needed be made for using it and no need existed to rely on English to improve it. This attitude, even though directed at code-switching, reveals much more about the sentiments of Laredoans like her who were born in Mexico, may have become U.S. citizens or residents, attended U.S. schools, but whose personal identity was Mexican. She and others like her, who were exiles from the Mexican revolution or supporters of it, held on to their national identity, had strong allegiance to their home language, and intended to preserve it in its purest form.

One century later, negative attitudes towards the practice of code-switching, like Villegas de Magnón’s, still exist among monolinguals, competent bilinguals, and to some degree even by those bilingual speakers who practice it. As Bullock and Toribio (2009) state, these negative attitudes are common among immigrant communities where

the expectations are the complete transition to English. Additionally, it is a “well known sociolinguistic fact that speakers’ attitudes do not coincide with their behaviors. That is, many bilinguals will voice negative attitudes towards code-switching while deploying it in their own speech” (11). Although these attitudes persist and are unlikely to disappear, at least enough significant research has been conducted on English and Spanish code-switching to enlighten the debate. This research has brought some understanding of the linguistic phenomenon to academic circles and has helped to de-stigmatize code-switching among the some segments of the general public (Lipski 2008: 28).

5.4. Anglo Attitudes towards the Spanish Language

Individuals who are monolingual in a bilingual community may express attitudes, positive or negative, about the use of a language they do not speak or understand. One such correspondent in the San Miguel collection is Elizabeth Baldrige, whose first letter in the collection is written in 1920. Although Miss Baldrige’s mother tongue is English, she knows some Spanish, since she uses Spanish words sporadically in her writing (Chapter 5, section 5.4.3). Her positive attitude towards Spanish language use is apparent by her desire to learn the language herself. In a letter dated August 10, 1927, she asks Rafael to write her in Spanish. “Say Rafael, please | write to me in | Spanish because | I am trying to | learn to read | Spanish. You can | help me so | much by writing | to me in | Spanish” (S44, 259-268). She reiterates that in the same letter, “ By, by, and | write me a long letter | in Spanish and tell me all |about everybody in town” (S44, 353-356).

In the public domain, there is also evidence that some English-speaking Laredoans understood the value of the Spanish language. For example, Justo Penn, who took over as editor and publisher of *The Laredo Times* after the death of his father, James Penn, was a strong supporter. In 1909, Penn writes in one of his regular features, the “Thursday’s Daily” column, an article entitled “Business Value of Spanish.” In it he cites the words of a British businessman quoted in *El Herald*, a newspaper from Mexico City, who extols the value of Spanish.

To anyone with the most superficial knowledge ...it must be only too obvious that, next to English, Spanish is the most important language in the world, and, not only that, but it is one of the easiest and the prettiest from the Briton’s standpoint. (*Laredo Weekly Times*, April 15, 1909: 10)

Five years later, Penn voices his own opinions on the matter. “There is nothing discreditable in the use of the Spanish or the English language. In many European countries one finds the majority of the people speaking two or even more languages” (*The Laredo Times*, February 27, 1916: 10). It is important to note that Penn uses “nothing discreditable” in reference to being bilingual, a choice of words that indicates an existing view in the United States that bilingualism was not considered an asset, but rather a limitation. The United States’ geographical and political isolation, its large number of monolingual English speakers, and the perceived threat of the inflow of immigrants speaking a foreign tongue likely accounts for this prevalent negative view, unlike the attitude of Europeans who understand the value of knowing more than language because they are multilingual.

In the “Tuesday’s Daily” printed on July 28, 1918, Penn begins his piece by explaining the new state ruling that Spanish is not to be taught in the public schools. He clarifies that the usual practice of Spanish being used for classroom instruction along the border is no longer an option but that Spanish can be taught as a foreign language, like French. However, he advocates strongly for Spanish, arguing that Spanish is easy, that every Laredoan should learn it, that individuals who claim that foreign businessmen should learn English if they want to do business in America are naïve, contrasting them to the savvy European business men who are multilingual and do not need interpreters to do business.

That is why it is so difficult for an American to secure and retain foreign business connections. There are American houses who have sent representatives to the Latin American countries without any knowledge whatsoever of the Spanish language and they have failed to secure the business which the house deserved merely because they were forced to deal with an interpreter, while the shrewd European business men not only send expert linguists to represent them, but have correspondents who can handle many languages to write all their letters for them. The young man and woman of today who is figuring on going into business must be equipped with more than one language, especially here in Texas. (*Laredo Morning Times*, July 28, 1918: 8)

Another interesting article regards a meeting between General Pershing and the Mexican General Reynaldo Garza at a banquet held in Laredo in 1917. This one provides evidence that numerous Laredoans, even those who had English surnames, understood Spanish. The article begins with General Pershing’s speech, which underscores the importance of friendship with Mexico. “We can help our cause along by cultivating the friendship of the Mexican people. Friendship begets friendship and confidence begets confidence. If we show this to our fellowmen on the other side of the

river, it will lead to a better understanding, and I wish now to propose a toast to General Reynaldo Garza of the Mexican army.” When General Garza stands to address the audience, he indicates that he does not speak English, but the article states the following: “and to this replying to him in Spanish (for the general speaks the language well) [Pershing] told the Mexican general to make his address in Spanish as all present would fully understand him, and this he did” (*Laredo Morning Times*, March 18, 1917: 4). Those in attendance, with the exception of the guests of honor, all have Anglo last names. Some are military, others civilians. In other words, even though their ethnic heritage may not have been of Mexican descent and/or they were descendants of intercultural marriages, those present at least had an understanding of Spanish (*Laredo Morning Times*, March 18, 1917: 4).

In the same edition of the newspaper, Penn writes a lengthy editorial for the “Tuesday’s Daily” part of which is titled, “Studying Spanish.” This piece provides significant information because it discusses the language skills of several sets of Laredoans. He notes that “it is surprising to find so many American persons in Laredo who speak Spanish.” However, he qualifies this statement by adding that they seem fluent to non-Spanish speakers but they are hard pressed to read it or write it well. He also notes that the young people of Laredo that have studied in the public schools do speak, read, and write Spanish well. By contrast, the older Mexicans have a hard time learning English, because it is difficult to learn a foreign language after a certain age. The servant and laboring class have even more difficulties because they “have no education at all, considered from the standpoint of reading and writing.” But the Anglos,

he argues, have no excuse for not learning Spanish given that almost all are literate. He promotes the learning of Spanish for business purposes, indicating that the increasing immigration in Laredo makes it essential, and states that foreigners often speak four or five languages. Finally, he notes that “dozens of places in Laredo” teach Spanish, some by Mexican bilinguals, others by Mexican Spanish monolinguals (*Laredo Morning Times*, March 18, 1917: 8).

Other small announcements provide further evidence that the Anglo community encouraged the study of Spanish. Two notices appeared in the *Laredo Times* congratulating high school girls who had excelled in their learning of Spanish. In April during a Pan American Luncheon a Miss Margaret Copeland, a senior at Laredo High School, made “remarkable strides in the study of the Spanish language” as was evident from her reading of “*La Balda [sic] de la Estrella-Mistral*” (April 29, 1924: 6). The other article “Miss Ellen Young is Victor” refers to Miss Young, a junior at Laredo High School, who won the first place award in a contest “to further advance the Spanish language among the English-speaking race” for her Spanish essay (Friday, May 25, 1928).

However, not every English speaker was so eager to learn Spanish. The *Borderland of the Two Republics*, an English newspaper published in Laredo in 1905-1906 by a J. W. Canada, held no respect for Mexicans or their language. Its articles and advertisements were clearly addressed to agricultural investors and businessmen who identified with the cultural attitudes prevalent in towns such as Kingsville and Robstown, where racism and discrimination against Mexicans were practiced. As

discussed in Section 1, Laredo was primarily a ranching community in its early years and then secured its growth and prosperity mostly through international trade, commerce, oil, and gas. Agriculture never became a dominant and lasting business in Laredo. The situation was different in the Rio Grande Valley and towns slightly north of that region, such as Kingsville, Robstown, and Falfurrias, where the agricultural industry flourished and benefitted from the exploitation of the Mexican laborer. So it is not surprising that the majority of articles and advertisements printed in this newspaper represent the interest of those geographical areas, in spite of the paper's subtitle: "We tell of the commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests of Laredo and its tributary country." In reference to the role of Spanish, an article printed on December 13, 1905 complained that Laredo policemen did not speak English and argued that individuals who did not speak English, "the language of your state, your country, the language of your laws and statute books and court," were incompetent to serve. The author's tone indicated frustration with the status quo, ending the article with the following plea: "Are you willing to stand for these things in your city. If not then see that your city police force is made up of men who know and use the English language" (*Borderland of the Two Republics*, Vol. I, #11: 1).

The *Borderland of the Two Republics* featured another lead article demeaning the Spanish language. It appeared a month after the article on the police of Laredo, on January 19, 1906. The first line reads, "'Greaser (sic) Spanish' is as much spoken on the American side as on the other, and 'Mex,' the money of Mexico, [is] the coin of the realm on both sides of the river." The article makes reference to Brownsville and the

Valley, but not Laredo. This is indicative that the article was probably directed to a Valley readership where discriminatory remarks against Mexicans were tolerated since discrimination was rampant there.

Another article that had a *Gulf Coast Line Magazine* by-line and appeared in the *Borderland of the Two Republics* made insidious, disparaging remarks about Mexicans stating:

It is not an unattractive existence---that of the careless, thoughtless, disinterested Mexican....Yes, 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof' seems to be the guiding motive of the Mexican's life...The native Mexican accepts it all as a matter of course and lends his assistance for which he is compensated at a rate of less than fifty cents a day. He is satisfied and his acquiescence is a guarantee of the ready solution of any labor problem that may arise in the future. (*Borderland of the Two Republics*, January 26, 1906: 1)

It is apparent that the newspaper had its publication base in the Valley and was trying to make inroads in the Laredo area for business purposes, hoping to interest investments by like-minded, bigoted entrepreneurs. However, the practice of printing *Gulf Coast Line Magazine* articles in the Laredo paper backfired when it led to criticism. One rebuttal article makes reference to a *Gulf Coast Line Magazine* article reprinted in the *Borderland of the Two Republics* and which spoke poorly about Mexicans in Matamoros and the Mexican Army there. It states: "The author of this article does a gross injustice to the city of Matamoros and to the Mexican army and at the same time he betrays the lack of knowledge; had he possessed it would have led him to speak in far different terms of the Mexican people and the Mexican army" (*Borderland of the Two Republics*, March 16, 1906: 1).

Two weeks later, another article in the *Borderland of the Two Republics* blames the lack of good schools to the speaking of two languages. “Good schools on the border have been and are yet difficult to obtain because of the two peoples with two languages. It has been difficult to obtain good teachers” (March 31, 1906, #10, Vol. II). These ideas do not seem to have received widespread support from the local Laredo population, however, and the newspaper as far as it is possible to determine only ran for approximately two years.

Another indicator that some frustration existed with the lack of English skills among the general population, particularly of individuals who held public positions, is found in one Elizabeth Baldrige’s letters to Rafael San Miguel. She complains that Superintendent A. J. Navarro, who also served as County Judge from 1929 until 1936 (Quezada 1999: 219), is unfit for the job. When she is being asked to return to teach in Zapata, after she has relocated to Encinal, Texas, a city 39 miles north of Laredo, she lambasts Navarro’s appointment and credentials:

...I can’t | work with Navarro. It is impossible. He | and I have different ideas of American | education. I could not afford to teach | schools under commanding orders of | a man who doesn’t speak English | himself, so one can understand it. | I think too much of myself and my own | reputation as an English teacher for that. | I promised all my friends in Zapata to | go back and work for them again | whenever they take my sweetie back for | Judge and superintendent. Sure I’ll go | back then and live in peace and | happiness with you all, but I’ll work | in Webb County until they bring Joe back | to the office. He is the only man in | Zapata County who is educated in English | and who can represent Zapata County at educational conventions and County judges | conventions. Imagine if you can | a mental picture of Navarro, a real | *pelado*, the kind that sings *Chaparrito* | when they get drunk, representing the | people of Zapata at an educational | convention. That is a disgrace to Zapata | County. No, no, no. Joe is the | man in the county who can be | superintendent of American schools and | the people must make him come | back for Judge. Navarro is all | right for a

teacher at a ranch or for a | clerk, but it's a shame to disgrace our | county with him as superintendent | of American schools. Everybody out of | the county is laughing and making fun | of Zapata County's superintendent of schools. They | laugh at his walk, they laugh at his | talk, and they laugh at his car, and | at his clothes (S45, 127-166).

Her statements regarding Navarro's poor English skills may have less to do with the poor match between his credentials and his responsibility than the fact that her beau, José M. Sánchez, has been ousted from his prior position as judge and superintendent and replaced by Navarro himself. The other important reference regards the dearth of educated English speakers in Zapata County. Her claim that Joe is the only man "educated in English" may be an exaggeration, but it does indicate that the number of men schooled in English were few.

In the political arena, negative attitudes about Spanish speakers were also voiced. José María Rodríguez (1913), who served as Webb County Judge from 1878-1900, recounts in his memoirs that Anglos would voice their displeasure about the presence of Mexicans in Laredo when they would first arrive. He recalls:

It is true that some Americans have there who for some reason or other, just as soon as they arrived, begun a movement to clean out the Mexicans. They would rant at public meetings and declare that this was an American country and the Mexicans ought to be run out. (75)

However, he prefaces that with a statement that Spanish-speaking Laredoans have always been in charge of local politics and that they have welcome the Anglos as long as they had the right disposition. He adds his surprise that anyone would imagine

native Laredoans relinquishing their rights because “strangers” thought they ought to.

Rodríguez writes:

The affairs of the City and County have always been in the hands of the Spanish speaking people, and the manner in which the affairs of that city and county have been managed is a complete answer to the proposition that the Spanish people cannot govern themselves under a Republican form of government. I venture to say that no city in the State has a higher class of citizenship than has Laredo and the principal families, such as the Benavides, Sanchez, Garcia, de la Garza, Vidaurri, Trevino, Bruni, Martin, Ortiz, Salinas, Ramon, Herrera, and Fariás, will easily rank with the best people of the United States.

Their treatment of the American stranger alone shows to a large extent the kind of people they are, for those who have come among them and have shown a disposition to join in their affairs they have welcomed with open arms and given them places of honor...The Spanish families of the first class who live in Webb County, have been there over 150 years, and it hardly seems reasonable to suppose that they would voluntarily leave to please the strangers. (74-75)

These families of “the first class” clearly had the upper hand and were not threatened by the Anglo presence. The Anglos could join them but native Laredoans held to their status, language, and culture. Nonetheless, it is clear that some language tension was present at the turn of the century. A few years later, though, during the 1910 Mexican revolution, Laredo’s population boomed due to the immigration of exiled Mexicans. Even though Spanish-speaking Laredoans were reminded of the power of English, articulated through the judicial and administrative branches of government and the sporadic racist statements made by a few Laredoans, Spanish was deeply entrenched and embraced. In comparison, as noted by Glenn Martínez (2008), this was not the case in the Rio Grande Valley or San Antonio. However, some South Texans did promote an ideology of preservation that “denounced the ideological attempts to erase Spanish

speakers from the political map” (159). Nowhere was that ideology more visible than in Laredo, through the editorial articles written in the Spanish press from 1880 to 1920 by Justo Cárdenas, Jovita Idar, and Leonor Villegas de Magnón, and in the English press by Justo Penn. These authors spoke for all Laredoans who wished to maintain Spanish but who understood that it was better to be bilingual, and thus supported the maintenance of Spanish and the learning of English. A similar stance was taken by Jovita González, a novelist from Roma, Texas in the Río Grande Valley during the early twentieth century. Although her writing is in English, when she introduces Spanish in her novel, she translates or explains what has been said, never missing an opportunity to educate her audience in case they did not know Spanish. She, like the Laredoans mentioned above, also felt that Mexican-Americans needed to promote bilingualism among “mainstream Americans” if they desired to preserve their Spanish language and culture (Moyna 2009: 148).

5.5. Cultural Attitudes

Although attitudes towards Mexicans or Tejanos are not in and of themselves defined as language attitudes, Solé (1973) indicates they can reflect attitudes towards the speech of Spanish speakers, whether that be Spanish or some variety of English. The section below includes comments made by writers regarding the differences between the Mexican culture and Americans. These comments serve several purposes. In some cases, they signal cultural differences that strain relationships, contribute to choices regarding friendships or love relationships, or influence political or family decisions. Whether these contributed to individuals’ judgments about speech is unknown, but they

do serve to understand the nature of the relationships between individuals and, in some instances, their perceptions of an ethnic group.

As I have mentioned before, intercultural marriages were not uncommon among the families in Laredo. These usually involved Anglo men or other foreigners marrying Mexican women. The early demographics of Laredo indicate that non-Spanish surnamed individuals represented a small percentage of the population. This likely increased intermarriages since Anglo or foreign-born single men and first generation sons and daughters were more likely to meet peers that were Mexican or of Mexican descent than Anglo or other foreign residents. The U. S. federal manuscript census data for 1860, 1870 and 1880 (see Table 9) compiled from Calderón's (1993) tables show that the percentage of non-Spanish surnamed individuals was consistently low (970-971). Because the arrival of the railroad in 1880 increased the number of Anglos and foreigners in Laredo, the figures for the following decades were likely higher.

	1860	1870	1880
Non-Spanish Surnamed	33	103	99
Spanish Surnamed	348	623	1112
Non- Spanish-surnamed Percentage of Population	9.5%	16.5%	8.9%

Table 9. Spanish and non-Spanish surnamed population in Webb County, Texas: 1860-1880.

Brown and Cadena's (1993) abstract of the marriage records of San Agustín Parish for 1858-1881 does list the names of the bride and groom for Catholic, Protestant, and Civil marriages. A review of the records yielded some interesting statistics, presented in Table 10. The percentage of intercultural marriages based on surnames, i.e. Spanish and non-Spanish surnamed couples, was 5% for Catholic marriages and 6% for Protestant and Civil marriages. However, marriages listed in the Protestant and Civil records of just non-Spanish surnamed brides and grooms were not much higher, only 7%. No such marriages appeared in the Catholic registry. Again, given the statistics just discussed, it becomes evident that intercultural marriages were about as commonplace as non-intercultural marriages, at least from 1858 to 1880.

	Catholic Marriages	Protestant and Civil Marriages
Total Marriages	799	240
Spanish and non-Spanish Surnamed	37 (5%)	15 (6%)
Spanish Surnamed	762 (95%)	225 (94%)
Non-Spanish Surnamed	0	18 (7%)

Table 10. Marriages between Spanish and non-Spanish surnamed Laredoans, 1858-1880.

One example of an intercultural marriage in the collections is that of Andrea Benavides' marriage to John Z. Leyendecker, a German immigrant. It suffered from some of the strains of cultural differences, as noted in one of Andrea's letters to John.

No tengo razón para querer ofenderte tanto. No permita | Dios que tuviera esa intención. No sé si la causa es estar de | dos naciones diferentes, para no entendernos el uno al otro y | creerte tú tan ofendido de mí, lo que siento muchísimo. (L8, 7-10)

I have no reason to offend you so much. God forbid that I should have such an intention. I am not sure if our being from two different nations is the cause of our misunderstanding and your belief that I have offended you, something about which I am truly sorry.”

Andrea makes no other reference to their marital stress. The only other references in the Leyendecker collection to another culture are those of Tomasa Cameros Benavides, who indicates her plan to put as much distance as she can between herself and those “Yankees.” “*Ya me entregarán mi solar al otro lado para aser mi casita antes que bengan los Yankees*” (L36, 24). “Soon they will hand over the lot to me so that I can build my little house before the Yankees arrive.” And then

Aquí parese que se abla más | de los yankees. Desían que ya abían llegado a Brosville | de manera que yo ya e dado prinsipio aser mi casita al | otro lado del rrio para no coreer tanto como el año | pasado. (L38, 7-11)

Here it seems that there is more talk about the Yankees. They used to say that they had arrived in Brownsville, so I have begun to build my house on the other side of the river so that I don’t have to run back and forth as much as last year.

One has to surmise that her decision to change her residence stems from fear or dislike of Anglos, either of which is not positive.

Other more pointed cultural references are noted in the San Miguel collection. Some of these include statements about culture and class, mostly from Miss Elizabeth Baldrige who has no compunction about expressing her ideas and dispensing advice to her protégé Rafael. Her many relationships with individuals of Mexican heritage seem to

indicate that she does not harbor prejudicial attitudes about Mexicans per se. She refers to her genuine affection for many individuals who are of Mexican descent:

Everybody is nice up here and the | work is easier in this county than in | Zapata, but I like Zapata *County* best be- | cause I love my friends there so much, | wonderful friends like you, and your parents, | the Sánchez, the Martínez, some of the Flores, | Fernanda's family and Teodora's family, Celia, | the Volpes and the González. Just dozens | more. I adore you all, and I get lonesome | for you all every day. (S45c, 114-123).

However, Baldrige harbors strong attitudes regarding lower social class. When commenting to Rafael about why their mutual friend, Elena (Rafael's latest love interest), should not befriend a woman named Mele, she proposes that some people can never rise above their station due to their family history.

What she means about Mele, is | I heard Mele inviting Elena to visit | her and I was afraid Mele would | write her and beg her to come and | visit her, but you see Mele | is about 3rd grade society in | Encinal. There is a 1st class in | Encinal composed of rich Mex- | icans and rich Americans to- | gether. Then there is a middle | or second class of poor Americans, and | then there is a 3rd class of | starving poor Mexicans and | Mele belongs to that 3rd class. | Her mother was a W.O.W. and she died | two years ago and Mela got \$1000 and insurance. | She made a little restaurant for | herself and her grandmother to run, | but she can never rise above | her mother being a wash woman | all her life in Encinal. I use her to drive | for me when I can't get a boy [chauffer] | because she is a good driver, | and I like the poor pitiful girl | because she works hard, but | I would not want her for Elena's | social friend. She ^{Mele} is about | like Diamantina Guzmán, a pretty | and sweet little girl of the peon class | that everybody likes but who can | never get into even second class | society, so I wrote Elena not to | visit her. (S46, 140-172)

Three points bear discussion. The first has to do with the social distinctions in the Laredo area. Baldrige seems to relegate poor Mexicans to a station below poor Americans, with the only other qualifier being that those of the third station are not just

poor but “starving poor.” It is difficult to tease out the difference between those two categories unless there were in fact no “poor starving” Americans living in Encinal.

Second, the use of the word “together” in her statement “rich Mexicans and rich Americans together” indicates that for Baldrige, money trumped ethnicity. Her belief that rich Mexicans were on equal footing with rich Americans corroborates other observations about discrimination in the Laredo area, that the elite did not experience discrimination from the Anglo community. However, Anglos’ attitudes towards the “starving poor Mexicans” were another matter.

Third, Baldrige’s class-conscious attitude also compels her to protect Elena from losing her social status through an unacceptable friendship. Elizabeth takes matters into her own hands and tells Elena not to visit Mele, a piece of advice Elena heeds since she mentions in a letter to Elizabeth that she will not be going to Encinal after all.

In another letter, this one written to Rafael, Baldrige shares her observations about the cultural differences between American and Mexican women in love. She makes this statement because she notes how desperately Elena has fallen in love with him. She also knows that Rafael is not in love with her although he is willing to string her along. In one of her letters she remarks, perhaps jokingly, about the differences between American and Mexican women in love.

I wish I could love like Mexican | girls do, without a bit of hope and yet love on just as | devotedly. I think that is wonderful, to be able to love | that desperately. We American women love, of course, but we | demand some love in return. If we don’t get some hope of a | return of affection, then we may pretend to keep on loving, | but we are merely playing. In love cases, Mexican girls | kill themselves. American girls kill the man. That’s the diff- | erence in the way the two races settle a disappointed love affair. | I don’t know which is best. Both get

results, that is, either way ends | the affair, but you are always able to get out of all our cases without | having to kill or having to be killed. You are a lucky fellow to be always | able to get out peacefully. (S48: 183-196)

Other allusions to cultural differences appear in one of Clemente N. Idar's letters, but here the differences result in racial prejudice against the Mexican laborer. As may be recalled from section 3.2.1.3., Idar was initially a Spanish newspaper publisher who left this profession to become a labor union leader in South Texas. In this capacity, he became deeply involved at the national level, organizing workers in Laredo and then across Texas. In a letter addressed to a fellow labor organizer in San Antonio, John Murray, Idar makes reference to the terms that must exist at the national level if the unions are to work collaboratively in this venture. His pride in his Mexican culture and his passion for addressing the injustices suffered by the working class make his agenda clear. Mexicans will be treated as brothers, with no trace of racial prejudice.

That the National and International Organizations must | be notified officially by the *American Federation of Labor* and by the Pan American | that Mexicans will be henceforth welcomed into the regular organiza- | tions of this country, treated with equal rights in every respect | and that their fellow-workers in the United States will do every | thing in their power to help uplift them and to heartily assist | them in emulating the spirit of organization and efficiency that | is known among American workingmen to a very reasonable degree in all parts of the country. In bringing the laboring classes | of both countries together, we have to crush every sentiment of | racial prejudice. Any effort to create amity between the | workers of both countries will fail if the idea is not strongly | preached in all labor organizations established along the southern | states because it is through such organizations that the first | contact and efforts under the new arrangement will be made. This | you and I must honestly admit have existed for more than 80 years | are going to be settled by an amicable solution. Let us not be- | lieve that the remedy can be instantaneous. The remedy must be of | gradual application. (I207, 7-25)

Idar makes no direct reference to the prevalence of racial prejudice in Laredo. As noted in Section 1 of this chapter, the majority of laborers in Laredo did not speak English, so it is unlikely that he is concerned about racial prejudice within the labor unions. His concern rests with the organizations in other parts of the country that must accept the Mexican laborer as an equal.

Not surprisingly, support of the Mexican culture in Laredo and the surrounding area is consistently evident in the Spanish press. The celebration of Mexico's attempted independence from Spanish rule on September 16, 1810, commonly known as *el día del grito del dieciséis de septiembre*, was and still is a popular annual event in Laredo. Representatives from both Laredos have traditionally headed the activities on both sides of the river. This traditional celebration testifies to the affinity that Laredoans have felt for the Mexican culture and to the cooperation that has existed between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo. On the 100th anniversary of Mexico's independence, in 1910, a newly formed Mexican organization in Laredo named *El Club Internacional* decided to celebrate the auspicious occasion. An article in *La Crónica* makes reference to the fact that a great number of Americans joined their efforts to organize this fiesta.

El Club Internacional es el iniciador de esta fiesta y como prueba de buena vecindad y perfecta armonía en las distintas comisiones que ha nombrado figuran gran número de caballeros americanos que con verdadero entusiasmo han acogido la idea de celebración en Laredo. (La Crónica, May 7, 1910: 5)

The International Club is the initiator of this celebration and as proof of good neighbors and perfect harmony are the number of grand American gentlemen who constitute the diverse committees I have named and who with true enthusiasm have embraced the idea of Laredo's celebration.

In contrast, a short article regarding similar attempts to celebrate Mexico's independence in San Antonio was not well received in the city due to differences between some of the Mexicans residing there as well as little support from the city.

Nos escriben de San Antonio, Texas, informándonos que debido a las divisiones (sic) que existen entre la colonia Mexicana, la mayoría de las Sociedades no tomarán parte en las fiestas con que allá se celebra el Centenario y que muchas personas, en vista de la unión que existe en la colonia Mexicana de Laredo, Texas, vendrán aquí a pasar los días de la celebración. Así mismo se nos informa que la mayor parte de los habitantes de San Antonio han acogido con frialdad muy marcada la iniciativa de celebración en aquella ciudad. (La Crónica, June 18, 1910: 4)

They write us from San Antonio, Texas, informing us that given the divisions that exist between the Mexican community, the majority of the organizations will not take part in the centennial festivities that will be celebrated over there and that many people, in light of the union that exists in the Mexican community in Laredo, Texas, will come here to participate in the celebration. Likewise, we are informed that the majority of San Antonio residents have responded very coldly to the idea of celebrating the centennial in that city.

Another Mexican holiday celebrated in Laredo as early as 1892 was “*el cinco de mayo*,” the date of Mexico's victory over France in the Battle of Puebla. A short description of a literary celebration in honor of the occasion appeared in the press.

Aquí las Sociedades de Obreros celebraron también esa fecha gloriosa con modestas veladas literarias, que revelan el patriotismo no desmentido del pueblo mexicano pues no habiéndose acordado por la Junta Patriótica celebrar esa gloria patria con la pompa que se acostumbra entre nosotros, en virtud de la aflictivas circunstancias por que atraviesa Laredo, ... (El Correo de Laredo, May 7, 1892: 3)

Here the Society of Workers also celebrated this glorious date with a modest literary evening, which reveals the deeply felt patriotism of the Mexican populace since the Patriotic Committee could not agree to celebrate this patriotic event with the pomp that we are accustomed to, in virtue of the difficult circumstances that Laredo is undergoing,...

Note that events such as the literary *velada* and the regular publication of literary pieces in the press reaffirm literacy in Spanish since the kind of activity or reading demands an audience that is well versed in the Spanish language. Audiences must have a developed appreciation for the arts nurtured through the reading and studying of literature to participate as a listener or reader. This lends credence to the statement by

Kanellos and Martell (2000) that the Spanish press exemplified “the best writing in the Spanish language” because the publishers strongly believed that the press could sustain and improve the literacy of the Hispanic community (7).

Another public statement of cultural support appeared in the *Laredo Times* written by a Mr. Little who stated the following: “I love our Mexican population and want a man for governor who will not destroy this union and love which exists in our city. For this reason I wrote to Geo. C. Butte, the republican candidate for governor, to know how he felt toward our Mexican people.” Little further stated that a governor should see that all men are brothers. Perhaps this was simply a political strategy to seek the Mexican vote for Mr. Butte. Nonetheless this strong statement of support for the Mexican community of Laredo appeared in the public domain and should be taken at face value unless evidence elsewhere suggests differently (October 29, 1924: 5).

5.6. Summary

It is evident that many Laredoans, whether they were bilinguals, Spanish monolinguals, or even English monolinguals, supported Spanish language use and the Mexican culture. In both public and private domains, individuals supported Spanish maintenance and even encouraged English monolinguals to learn Spanish. Several

statements from Anglos represented in this study, in both correspondence and the press, expressed positive attitudes towards Spanish speakers and the Spanish language. Mexican cultural celebrations took root early in Laredo's history and have endured through the twenty-first century.

Some bilingual writers were apologetic about their Spanish language skills; other second language learners seemed unaware or unconcerned about the fact that their language skills were not on par with those of standard speakers of either English or Spanish. Although language tension existed in the community due to some Anglos' perceptions that Spanish speakers should leave the city, these attitudes seemed to be expressed by new arrivals who had not yet figured out that they were outnumbered, and in some instances outclassed, and that they were in a Spanish speaking community that was not going to abandon their culture or language to suit them. After this macro-linguistic analysis of the documentary evidence, the next chapter offers a micro-linguistic analysis of the salient features of the Spanish used in the Laredo area.

6. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

This section includes the linguistic analysis of the personal correspondence and other documents that have been transcribed and are included in the appendices. These include the three large collections, John Z. Leyendecker (L1-L39), Rafael San Miguel Jr. (S40-S195), and Clemente and Federico Idar (I196-I226), plus miscellaneous correspondence (M227-M241) and handwritten court documents (C242-C256). Although letters written in English are included in the transcriptions to provide easy reference to cultural and attitudinal content, these letters were not included in the analysis. For a more detailed description of all transcribed documents, please consult Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

The major areas of linguistic analysis include orthographical practices, phonology/phonetics as reflected in the orthography, morphosyntax, and pragmatics. Numerous examples of some linguistic phenomena exist for some writers, so in most instances, to avoid overrepresentation, I will limit the illustration of a given feature to one for each writer when numerous writers use the same one. All writers will be identified by their initials at the end of the citation, e.g. (L1, 50, JBL) for Juliana Benavides Leyendecker, to provide evidence of gender or generational use.

6.2. Orthographic Observations

A cursory review of the collections documents that spelling in the Laredo area was not standardized in the late 19th and early 20th century. The Benavides-Leyendecker family members regularly switched graphemes that do not reflect any phonemic

distinction. For example, they regularly switched for <v> or vice-versa as in *vesitos* (L1, 48, JBL) for *besitos* (kisses) although the use of for <v> was much more frequent, e.g. *berte* (L1, 50, JBL) for *verte* (see you).

The silent <h> was rarely used and in some cases, hypercorrection is evident, i.e., the writer knew <h> was used but was not sure when it should appear.

(1) Dropping of silent <h>

- a. *ermano* < *hermano* ‘brother’ (L19, 8-10, SB)
- b. *e* < *he* ‘I have’ (L9, 3, BB)
- c. *abía* < *había* ‘s/he had’ (L14, 22, TC)
- d. *ubo* < *hubo* ‘there was’ (L14, 27, JBL)

(2) Hypercorrection of <h>

- a. *hespreciones* < *expresiones* ‘expressions’ (L12, 43, CB)
- b. *hiría* < *iría* ‘s/he would go’ (L11, 8, CB)
- c. *Handrea* < *Andrea* (L12, 44, CB)

Other examples of hypercorrection or orthographic confusions were found. The majority of these spellings were produced by women from the 19th century who probably had limited education, and thus did not have complete knowledge of Spanish orthography. Confusion of <g> and <j> regardless of the vowels that follow them was particularly evident as well as the dropping of <u> after <g>.

(3) <g> for <j>

- a. *cagero* < *cajero* ‘cashier’ (L14,28,JBL)
- b. *muger* < *mujer* ‘woman’ (L5, 25, ABL)
- c. *flogo* < *flojo* ‘lazy’ (L32, 9, TC)
- d. *orega* < *oreja* ‘ear’ (L6, 117, ABL)
- e. *recógalas* < *recójalas* ‘pick them up’ (L29, 25, TC)
- f. *agugas* < *agujas* ‘needles’ (L32, 4, JBL)

(4) Dropping of <u> after <g>

- a. *pagen* < *paguen* ‘they pay’ (L4, 32, ABL)

- b. **consegriles** < *conseguirles* ‘to secure, find for them’ (L29, 14, TC)
- c. **Migel** < *Miguel* ‘Michael’ (L14, 37, JBL)
- d. **gerra** < *guerra* ‘war’ (L12, 15, CB)

(5) <i> and <y>

- a. **doi** < *doy* ‘I give’ (L15, 5, JBL)
- b. **mui** < *muy* ‘very’ (L29, 2, TC)
- c. **ygitos** < *hijitos* ‘children’ (L14, 48, JBL)

(6) <q> for <c>

- a. **qreo** < *creo* ‘I believe’ (L11, 11, CB)

A few archaic orthographic practices, such as the use of <rr> for <r> in initial and medial position were still used. The use of <rr> to represent the trill at the beginning of words was common in the 16th and 17th century alongside <r>, which was also in use at that time as Kania’s concordances of colonial documents and Norris’ study from that century attest (Kania 2000: 1252; Norris 2010: 200). Many instances of confusion between the <rr> and <r> in a medial position were also found in this study, most likely due to the lack of education in Spanish orthography. It is unlikely that the writers intended for <r> to represent the flap and thus this was not an indicator of a phonological merger. This is a common phenomenon in the semi-literate writers. The majority of the example occurred in the 19th century correspondence, with the exception of one 20th century writer, a heritage language learner, who indicated in her letters that she did not know Spanish very well.

(7) <rr> for <r> in initial position

- a. **rrecibido** < *recibido* ‘received’ (L3, 29, ABL)
- b. **rrecuerdos** < *recuerdos* ‘memories’ (L28, 13, TC)
- c. **rrompe** < *rompe* ‘break’ (S58, 11, FA)
- d. **rresiba** < *reciba* ‘receive’ (L37, 13, TC)

Here are some examples of the medial position switch of <r> for <rr>:

(8) <r> for <rr> in medial position

- a. **coriente** < *corriente* ‘current month’ (L28, 2, TC)
- b. **arastrado** < *arrastrado* ‘a good for nothing person’ (L1, 30, ABL)
- c. **se arimó** < *se arrimó* ‘got near’ (L12, 36, CB)
- d. **corespondencia** < *correspondencia* ‘correspondence’ (S80, 8, JB)

Other orthographic switches include the <n> for <m> before bilabial stops /b/ and /p/. Norris (2011) found evidence of this fossilized orthographic practice in her linguistic analysis of colonial documents and notes that Kania (2000) ascribes these and other archaic spellings to medieval scribal practices that do not reflect a phonological difference (203). Although the majority of these <n> for <m> switches appear in the correspondence of the 19th century, some writers in the 20th century are unaware of the standardized spelling as well. One example was found in four court verdicts, (C246, 247, 248, 249), all written by different individuals who uniformly spell *imponemos* as *inponemos* ‘we impose.’ Other examples include the following:

(9) <n> for <m>

- a. **sienpre** < *siempre* ‘always’ (L20, 10, TC)
- b. **enbargó** < *embargó* ‘seized’ (L10, 7, CB)
- c. **conpuso** < *compuso* ‘he fixed’ (L14, 29, JBL)
- d. **son[bre]rito** < *sombrerito* ‘little hat’ (L33, 7, YL)
- e. **enpesé** < *empecé* ‘I began’ (M238, 36, CP)
- f. **runvo** < *rumbo* ‘direction’ (M241, 3, GS)

(10) <s> for <z> or <c>

- a. **grasias** < *gracias* ‘thank you’ (L15, 5, JBL)
- b. **goso** < *gozo* ‘joy’ (L28, 4, TC)
- c. **resibe** < *recibe* ‘receive’ (L1, 36, ABL)

This latter confusion between <s> <z> and <c> is evidence that the Spanish spoken in Laredo did not distinguish between the /s/ and the /th/ just like all other varieties of Latin American Spanish.

Most of the non-standard or archaic spellings occur in the 19th century, a telltale sign that educational opportunities were likely sparse for both males and females during that period. It is interesting to note, however, that in spite of the status of Spanish as a minority language, literacy in the Spanish improved over time. This is a clear indicator that the younger generation had increased access to education and the printed word in Spanish, and reinforces the observations made in Chapter 4 regarding the role of private schooling and the availability of reading materials in Spanish thanks to the efforts of the press.

6.3. Phonology

6.3.1. *Yeísmo*

Numerous occurrences of confused orthographic representations for /j/ and /ʎ/ indicate that phonemic distinction between these two sounds did not exist in the speech of any individuals in this study. Evidence of *yeísmo* in U.S. Spanish has also been found in the late 18th century historical studies of Espinosa (1909) and Moyna (2010). *Yeísmo* is most notable in the Leyendecker collection from 1860 to 1870, but a few of the other writers from the 20th century wrote <ll> for <y> and <y> for <ll>. The more educated writers, such as the Idar and San Miguel family members, knew Spanish orthography well and did not switch the graphemes, but that of course does not indicate that they made the phonemic distinction. It merely reinforces the unreliability of highly literate

writers to provide a clear picture of the oral variety. The following examples represent an ample though not exhaustive list of the writers' orthographic representations for /j/ and /k/.

(11) <y> for <ll>

- a. *al resivir esa se **aye** con salud* (L33, 3, TC)
'upon receiving this you **find** yourself healthy'
- b. ***yeb**ar algunas cosas; como no se **hayan** criadas acá* (L1, 10; 62, ABL)
'**to take** some things; since servants cannot be **found** there'
- c. *no **hayo** destino que me sea | util* (L11,14, CB)
'I **find** no useful destiny/future for me'
- d. *y **yuvias** nos pasamos; pa **yegar a** Gust Virginia; sus nombres se **yaman***
(M241, 18, 70, HD, GS)
'and we experienced **rain**; to **get** to West Virginia; their names are **called**'

(12) <ll> for <y>

- a. ***aller** enteraron una muchachita* (L34, 23, TC)
'**yesterday** they buried a little girl'
- b. *El tiene 30 cabayos y **lleguas*** (L5, 56, ABL)
'He has 30 horses and **mares**'
- c. ***lla** las tropas van colando por Point Isabel y los indios **lla** los tenemos sobre nosotros* (L12, 7, CB)
'the troops are **already** lining up by Port Isabel and the Indians are **already** at our heels'
- d. ***Lla** con ésta me despido* (M241,105, GS)
'With this I say farewell **already**'
- e. *que **valla** en la mañana; **llo** te doy* (M237, 11, 14, CP)
'that he **go** tomorrow; **I** will give you'

At other times the writers dropped the grapheme <ll> between vowels, resulting in the loss of the intervocalic consonant, the palatal /y/, a common feature of northern Mexican and Southwest US Spanish, as noted in several studies for both the contemporary and historical varieties (Espinosa 1909; Moyna & Decker 2005; Ross 1980; Sánchez 1982). The loss of /j/ usually occurs when the consonant is preceded or

followed by a high vowel as in the examples below, (b) and (c). In the case of (a), the loss occurs with the mid vowel /e/ as well.

(13) Loss of intervocalic consonant /j/.

- a. *Lucita dise que el muchacho de Pancha es de **ea*** (L36, 14, TC)
‘Lucita says Pancha’s boy (son) is **hers**’
- b. *un labamanos de los **amarios*** (L7, 90, JBL)
‘a hand wash basin of the **yellow** kind; a yellow sink’
- c. *me regaló una **medaita** chiquita* (L33, 6, TC)
‘he gave me a small **medal**’
- d. *correndo seines de **mias*** (M241, 10, GS)
‘running hundreds of **miles**’

Another unusual grapheme switch found was the use of the consonantal grapheme <ll> to replace semivowel <y> in a diphthong, evidence that the /j/ was weakly pronounced in this dialect. Only one 19th century writer switched these graphemes, a clear indicator that he was semi-literate. Examples of these switches include the following:

(14) <ll> for <y>

- a. **[h]oll** < hoy ‘today’ (M241, 19 and 74, GS)
- b. **no [h]all que desespirar** < no hay que desesperar ‘there is no need to despair’ (M241, 62, GS)
- c. **pero aoll tenemos gusto** < pero hoy tenemos gusto ‘but today we are happy’ (M241, 95, GS).

6.3.2. *Aphesis and Apocope*

Among the many interesting irregularities in phonological features are the dropping of sounds at the beginning, middle and ends of words, known as aphasis, syncope, and apocope, respectively (Penny 1991). Sanchez (1982) cited several examples of this linguistic phenomenon in her study of 30 Mexican-American students from South Texas, some of whom were Laredoans. A few examples of those found in this study follow in (15).

(15) Apheresis

- a. **cusado** < *acusado* ‘accused’ (C250, 2, ML)
- b. **horita** < *ahorita* ‘now’ (S169, 69, JB)
- c. **spañol** < *español* ‘Spanish’ (S81, 15, JB)

(16) Apocope

- a. **cuan** < *cuando* ‘when’ (L12, 22, CB)
- b. **bastan** < *bastante* ‘enough’ (L29, 4, TC)
- c. **pa** < *para* ‘for’ (M241, 47, GS)

6.3.3. *Metathesis and Epenthesis*

Other phonological phenomena include the transposition of phonemes within words, metathesis, and the addition of phonemes, epenthesis. Espinosa (1909) found instances of metathesis in New Mexican Spanish and although the exact words he cites were not found in this study, very similar examples were.

(17) Metathesis

- a. **kursitas** < *crucitas* ‘crosses’ (L31, 3, TC)
- b. **promete** < *promete* ‘he promises’ (L37, 4, TC)
- c. **escribite** < *escribirte* ‘to write to you’ (L27, 5, TC)
- d. **mader** < *madre* ‘mother’ (L15, 19, JBL)
- e. **redemente** < *derepente* ‘suddenly’ (M241, 92, GS)
- f. **dijiste** < *dijiste* ‘you said’ (L3, 27, ABL)

(18) Epenthesis

- a. **virguela** < *viruela* ‘smallpox’ (S72, 22, JB)
- b. **muncho** < *mucho* ‘much’ (L15, 2, JBL)
- c. **nadien** < *nadie* ‘no one’ (S98, 9 JB)

6.3.4. *Liquids*

Epenthesis of liquids /l/ and /r/ as well as the switching of the phonemes, or the inclusion of them where unnecessary, was evident.

(19) Epenthesis of /l/ and /r/

- a. **plueblo** < *pueblo* ‘town’ (L11, 12, CB)
- b. **fruerte** < *fuerte* ‘strong’ (S41, 31, BM)

(20) Confusion of /l/ and /r/

- a. **bolbel** < *volver* ‘to return’ (L3, 44, ABL)
- b. **obrigado** < *obligado* ‘obligated’ (L5, 43, ABL)

6.3.5. Simplification of Consonant Clusters

In some cases, one consonant in a cluster is dropped resulting in some interesting examples.

- (21) a. **dotor** < *doctor* ‘doctor’ (L36, 16, TC)
- b. **cofedrasion** < *confederación* ‘confederation’ (L37, 15, TC)
- c. **immediatamente** < *inmediatamente* ‘immediately’ (C257, 10, CJ)
- d. **ecepción** < *excepción* ‘exception’ (L13, 17, CB)
- e. **espuesto** < *expuesto* ‘exposed’ (M238, 32, CP; L20, 4, TC)

6.3.6. Vowel Raising and Lowering

In the examples below, the /e/ is raised to /i/ or the /i/ is lowered to /e/.

(22) Vowel Raising

- a. **dispierto** < *despierto* ‘awake’ (L5, 39, ABL)
- b. **desespirar** < *desesperar* ‘to despair’ (M241, 91, GS)
- c. **binir** < *venir* ‘to come’ (L23, 10, TC)
- d. **disemos** < *decimos* ‘we say’ (C242, 2; C244, 2, JG)

(23) Vowel Lowering

- a. **debisión** < *division* ‘division’ (L16, 22, SB)
- b. **felecidad** < *felicidad* ‘happiness’ (L29, 30, TC)
- c. **despense** < *dispense* ‘excuse’ (S65, 18, JB)
- d. **necesedad** < *necesidad* ‘necessity’ (S78, 18, JB)
- e. **premero** < *primero* ‘first’ (L12, 20, CB)
- f. **escrevirte** < *escribirte* ‘to write you’ (S42, 1, BM)

6.3.7. *Loss or Creation of Diphthongs*

The greatest number of diphthong loss is attributable to a semi-literate writer from the 20th century. The non-etymological diphthongs are from 19th century writers.

(25) Loss of diphthongs

- a. ***serto*** < *cierto* ‘true’ (M241, 5, GS)
- b. ***quen*** < *quien* ‘who’ (M241, 14, GS)
- c. ***tenendo*** < *teniendo* ‘having’ (M241, 99, GS)
- d. ***penitensaria*** < *penitenciaria* ‘penitentiary’ (C248, 3, JO)
- e. ***medo*** < *miedo* ‘fear’ (M241, 86, GS)
- f. ***tenes*** < *tienes* ‘you have’ (M241, 90, GS)
- g. ***correndo*** < *corriendo* ‘running’ (M241, 10, GS)

(26) Creation of diphthongs

- h. ***confiansia*** < *confianza* ‘confidence, trust’ (L20, 6, TC)
- i. ***ausiencia*** < *ausencia* ‘absence’ (L3, 49, ABL)

(27) Creation of diphthongs through vowel raising

- j. ***desiaba*** < *deseaba* ‘he used to desire’ (L30, 3; L39, 3, TC)
- k. ***train*** < *traen* ‘they bring’ (L35, 15, TC)
- l. ***pasió*** < *paseó* ‘she/he strolled, drove by’ (L14, 26, JBL)

6.3.8. *Loss of Homologous Vowels*

As noted in Espinoza (1909), when a word contains a hiatus made up of two identical vowels, such as /e:/ as in *creer*, and the last vowel carries the prosodic stress, some speakers tend to simplify the sequence of identical vowels to /e/. Sánchez’s (1982) study reported this phenomenon with *creer*, ‘to believe’ and *leer* ‘to read’, and this study found several instances of this loss with the verb *creer*.

(28) Loss of homologous vowel in *creer*

- a. ***crerme*** < *creerme* ‘believe me’ (L84, 7, JB)
- b. ***crerle*** < *creerle* ‘believe him’ (L84, 7, JB)

c. *cremos* < *creemos* ‘we believe’ (M241, 39, GS)

d. *crer* < *creer* ‘to believe’ (M238, 112, CP)

6.3.9. *Loss of word-final consonant <d>*

A few examples of the dropping of the final-word consonant <d> were found among 19th century female writers.

(29) a. *enfermeda* < *enfermedad* ‘illness’ (L1, 14, ABL)

b. *uste* < *usted* ‘you’ (formal) (L39, 5, YL)

6.3.10. *Switching of /f/ and /v/*

One 20th century writer switched the unvoiced labiodental fricative /f/ for the voiced labiodental plosive /v/.

30) a. *favor* < *favor* ‘favor’ (S62, 46, JHL)

6.4. Morphosyntax

6.4.1. *Agreement*

The agreement mismatches included in the examples below occur mainly because of the deletion of <s> which could be due to a phonetic process of the aspiration of /s/. However, since they impact agreement between nouns and their adjectives or articles (30), or between subjects and verbs (32), the <s> elision has been categorized under the morphosyntactic category. The addition of <s> occurs only once (31d) and also affects agreement. Only one instance of subject verb agreement due to dropped <s> was found in the correspondence (33a), but the verb *estar* does not agree in number with the subject either. Consequently the deletion of <s> in this example is likely due to this fact. The other example is lack of third person agreement.

(31) Concord of nouns and adjectives

a. *Mucho abrazos y besos* (L5, 71, ABL)

- ‘**many** hugs and kisses’
- b. *muchas cosa* (S61, 34, JHV)
‘lots of **things**’
- c. *Dispensa que estén tan mal escrita* (S77, 32, JB)
‘apologies that they are so badly **written**’
- d. *Yo todas mi confianza la tengo en Alfredo* (S83, 21-22, JB)
‘I place **all** my trust in Alfredo’
- e. *Mándeme unos sobre para escribirte* (L36,1, JBL)
‘Send me some **envelopes** so I can write you’
- f. *están enferma también* (L35, 9-10, TC)
‘they are also **sick**’

(32) Concord of nouns and articles

- a. *en la labores* (L5, 22, ABL)
‘in **the** fields’
- b. *de la casas* (L1, 48, ABL)
‘of **the** houses’
- c. *la mentiras* (S40, 10, BM)
‘**the** lies’
- d. *la idas* (S63, 22, JHV)
‘**the** departures’
- e. *sus carta* (S176, 10, RSMJ)
‘her **letters**’

(33) Agreement of subject and verb

- a. *Los correos de Brownsville está parado* (L5,11, ABL)
‘The mail deliveries from Brownsville **have stopped**’
- b. *...lo muy triste que les serán a todos la venida de Panchita* (L24, 9, TC)
‘...how sad Panchita’s departure **will be** for all’

6.4.2. Pronouns

6.4.2.1. Dropped Proclitic Indirect Object Pronoun

In Spanish, indirect object pronouns precede conjugated verb forms and the nouns they represent are mentioned after the verb, as in *le doy los libros a Juan*, where *le*, the proclitic indirect object pronoun precedes the verb and the indirect object, *a Juan*, follows the verb. So when writers drop the proclitic indirect pronoun, it is not standard

usage. This usage is observable in a second-generation writer from the 1860s, Andrea B. Leyendecker, who does not use the proclitic pronoun, *le*, on numerous occasions. Her repeated use of this pattern is very interesting because she certainly was Spanish dominant if not Spanish monolingual. She was already twelve at the time of the annexation and about 24 when she writes to her husband, John Leyendecker. Another writer from the 20th century, Jorge Hava Volpe, also drops *le*. Consider the examples in (34).

- (34) a. Porque DeWitt escribió a Don Juan (L1, 4, ABL)
 ‘Because De Witt wrote to Don Juan’
 b. *y a mi madre digo lo mismo* (L1, 22, ABL)
 ‘and my mother said the same thing’
 c. *Y así ca[da] día pregunta a su papá que cuándo se va para Laredo*
 (L1, 32-33, ABL)
 ‘and every day she asks her father when he is coming to Laredo’
 d. *Don Juan saluda a V[d]y todos los de la casa* (L1, 66, ABL)
 ‘Don Juan greets you and everyone at home’
 e. *A Pancha doy mis congratulaciones* (L1, 70, ABL)
 ‘I extend my congratulations to Pancha’
 f. *Lucía dice a su madrina que le guarde un ojarasquita* (L1, 85, ABL)
 ‘Lucia tells her godmother to save her a little cookie’
 g. *no digas a nadie* (S62, 53, JHL)
 ‘don’t tell anyone’

6.4.2.2. Redundant Pronoun Use

A few instances of the repetition of a possessive pronoun or a direct object pronoun were noted. In the examples cited below, (a) the use of the possessive adjective *su* eliminates the need to add the possessive pronoun phrase *de ella* and in (b) the direct object pronoun *la* or the direct object *la carta* should be used but not both.

- (35) a. *es **su** voluntad **de ella*** (L1, 22, ABL)
 ‘it is her wish’

- b. *Yo la abrí la carta tuya* (L3, 18, ABL)
 ‘I opened your letter’

6.4.2.3. Redundant Use of Subject Pronouns

According to Lipski (2008) the redundant use of subject pronouns is a trait totally uncharacteristic of fluent Spanish speakers, i.e. either native speakers or heritage language speakers. The redundant subject pronoun examples noted below, however, are those of a heritage language speaker. Even redundant indirect object pronouns are present. In some instances these subject pronouns perform a contrastive function or help distinguish between *usted* and *yo*, a fact that may explain some of the overuse.

- (36) a. *Creo que usted dijo que yo creía | que usted me iba a rogar a | mí*
 (S66, 9-11, JB)
 ‘I believe you said that I believed that you were going to beg me.’
- b. *Pues yo | no lo creía a usted así* (S66, 15, JB)
 ‘Well I did not believe you to be like that.’
- c. *Yo cre[o] que tú no | irás a estar en | Zapata para vaca- | siones ¿verdad*
 (S72, 10-13, JB)
 ‘I believe you will not be in Zapata on vacation, right?’
- d. *Pues era lo que | yo decía que tú | tenías que decirle | algo como siempre*
handava | contigo, pero tu dices que | no le dijiste nada, que tú | le dijiste de
otra persona | cuyo nombre yo puedo supo- | nerme pues yo pienso que | será
Fantina Gutierrez por | que ya varias personas | me han dicho que tú la |
pretendías antes que me | hablaras a mí, y ella | misma me lo ha dicho | a mí
pero yo no lo quería | creer (S76, 7-23, JB).
 ‘Well that’s what I said that you had to tell him something because he was always with you, but you say you didn’t tell him anything, that you told him about someone else whose name I can guess because I think that it is Fantina Gutierrez because several people have told me that you used to court her before you began speaking to me and she herself has told me, but I didn’t want to believe it.’

6.4.2.4. Leísmo

A few instances of *leísmo* are used during the 1860s, but they are not the norm. In some cases, such as with the expression *verlo* or *verle*, the writer switches between

both forms which documents that the use of *lo* for the direct object pronoun, even though preferred, was in competition with *le*, at least in epistolary formulas. Here are some examples of *leísmo* used by first and second-generation members of the Benavides-Leyendecker family.

- (37) a. *le rodean a V[d]* (L22 ,39, TC)
 ‘they surround **you**’
 b. *que le aprecia y desea ver* (L23, 20, TC)
 ‘that appreciates and wishes to see **you**’
 c. *le aprecia y desea verlo* (L24, 40, TC)
 ‘that appreciates **you** and wishes to see **you**’
 d. *berle decea* (L13, 22, CB)
 ‘wishes to see **you**’
 e. *y otros que sabían que el bino es- | taba mesclado con un aseite que les | causa ebacuación al que le toma* (L14, 33, JBL)
 ‘and others that knew the wine had been mixed with an oil that makes the one who drinks **it** throw up’

6.4.3. Verbs

6.4.3.1 *Ser* and *Estar*

As noted earlier in Chapter 2, Silva-Corvalán (1986), in her study of several generations of Spanish speakers in Los Angeles, found that *ser*, the copula that connects a subject with a predicate adjective to describe existence or inherent quality, as in *Felipe es guapo*, was being replaced with more frequency by *estar*, previously reserved for describing a subject’s condition or temporary state of being, as in *Felipe está borracho*. Silva-Corvalán uses the following example to illustrate the extension of *estar* to constructions that traditionally belong to the *ser* semantic domain: *Mi perrito está chiquito, pero bonito* in lieu of *Mi perrito es chiquito pero bonito* (2001: 262). Since the younger generation of Spanish speakers in her study used *estar* in place of *ser* more frequently than the older generations, the influence of English was thought to be a factor

since English uses only one form, the verb *to be*. Another contributing factor is the general tendency of speakers to simplify and generalize linguistic constructions, a linguistic behavior that Silva-Corvalán calls *simplification*. She defines it as “a complex process that implies generalization so that a given form is extended to an ever growing number of contexts” (273, my translation).

Gutiérrez (2003) uses Silva-Corvalán’s *simplification* theory to explain the linguistic change from *ser* to *estar* in the Spanish spoken in Michoacan, Mexico and in Houston and Los Angeles. He found that the “innovative” use of *estar* has been well underway in Mexico but he also found that it accelerates in the United States due to English language contact, a confirmation of Silva-Corvalán’s findings.

The most interesting finding regarding the use of *ser* and *estar* in this investigation is that the few non-traditional uses of the two verbs are mainly confined to second-generation writers from the 1860s.

(38) *Estar* for *ser*

- a. No sé si la razón es **estar** de | dos naciones diferentes, para no entendernos el uno al otro y | creerte tú tan ofendido de mí, lo que siento muchísimo (L8,8, ABL).
I don’t know if the reason is that we **are** from two different nations, so that we do not understand each other and to believe yourself so offended on my account, for which I am deeply sorry.
- b. Yo por mi parte no me pesa **estar** es- | posa tuya, sólo lo que quisiera era estar ya contigo como me pa- | rece ya años que no te miro (L8,12, ABL)
For my part, I do not regret **being** your wife, I only wish that I could be with you since it seems like years since I last saw you.
- c.mi | conciencia está satisfecha que no **estoy** culpable como | lo sabe mi Dios (L19, 6, SB)
...my conscience is at ease that I **am** not to blame, as my God knows.

One heritage language learner from the early 1900s uses *estar* for *ser* one time:

- d. *Te | he desconocido mucho y | sé que tal vez veías que | yo te mostrava cariño, pero | ahora **estoy** muy diferente* (S82, 12, JB)
 ‘I have not known you lately and know that perhaps you were noticing that I was showing you my affections, but now I am very different.’

Given the large sample of her writing, a set of 111 letters, it is clear that she regularly used *estar* in accordance with standard usage. No other occurrences of innovative *estar* were found anywhere.

The use of *ser* for *estar* was also found in the writing of the same second-generation writers cited above.

(39) *Ser* for *estar*

- a. *Yo por mi parte **soy** muy contenta* (L1, 23, ABL)
 ‘On my part, I **am** very happy’
- b. *...como ya me habías dicho que esta libranza **era** per- | dida y que pertenecía a Devis, lo mandé* (L3, 19, ABL)
 ‘...since you had already told me that that payment was lost and that it belonged to Devis, I sent him...’
- c. *Aquí | se dice que el Sur **es** en contra de toda gente alemana.* (L4, 49, ABL)
 ‘Here it is said that the South **is** against all German people’
- d. *Si V[d] **era** en mi situación | no haría caso de cosas tan pequeñas y ningún motivo | me haría sentir pero al mismo tiempo que mi | conciencia está satisfecha que no **estoy** culpable como | lo sabe mi Dios.* (L19, 3, SB)
 ‘If you **were** in my situation, you would not pay attention to such small things and no motive would make me feel but at the same time that my conscience is satisfied that I **am** not to blame, as my God knows.’
- e. *... me quedé con bastante quidado por que Lusita estaba | bastan enferma y no fuera desir a V[d] que Lusita **era** enfer- | ma y fuera V[d] a tener quidado* (L29, 3-5, TC)
 ‘...I remained worried because Lusita **was** very sick and didn’t want you to be told that she was sick and for you to be worried.’

These results indicate that the innovative use of *estar* for *ser* or *ser* for *estar* was not a common linguistic feature among the speakers in this investigation, although some

limited mixing is evident in the 1860s by two writers. Further, the writers of the 20th century use it even less, even though several of them were bilingual and second generation Laredoans and thus more exposed to English.

6.4.3.2. Use of Future: Synthetic vs. Periphrastic

The increased use of the periphrastic future verb form instead of the synthetic form among Spanish speakers in the United States has been found in synchronic studies (Gutiérrez 1990; Villa 1997) over the past two decades, and these researchers argue that this has been caused by English contact. A few diachronic studies, such as those of Acevedo (2000) and Balestra (2002) on California Spanish have sought to determine when these shifts began to take place. Acevedo notes that evidence of periphrastic use in Peninsular Spanish was found as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth century and that its increased use in Mexico, albeit at a much slower pace than in the United States, was noted by Moreno de Alba (1978). Balestra's study of the future verb form in California from 1800 to 1930 found that the synthetic form predominated during the entire period, but that three other forms to express the future besides the synthetic were already in use in the nineteenth century. These included the periphrastic forms *ir a* + infinitive, the periphrastic form *haber de* + infinitive and the present indicative form (e.g. *mañana me voy*). However, the use of the periphrastic form increased noticeably after 1848 when a massive influx of Anglos arrived in California. Even though this shift from synthetic to periphrastic has also been noted in Mexico, Balestra attributes the increased use of this form in California to English language contact (201).

The data gathered from an analysis of the correspondence included in this study also indicates that the synthetic future was strongly preferred even though the periphrastic form appeared as early as the 1860s. Only 25 instances (11%) of the periphrastic were found compared to 226 instances (89%) of the synthetic. In conducting the search for these two verb forms, three non-standard verb constructions were found that are idiosyncratic to one heritage language learner from the 20th century.

(40) Synthetic future of *ir* + *a* + infinitive

- a. *Yo cre[o] que tú no **irás a estar** en Zapata para vacaciones, ¿verdad?*
(S72, 11, JB)
‘I believe that **you will not be** in Zapata for vacation, right?’
- b. *Pues allí **iremos a hechar a perder a todos**...* (S90, 25, JB)
‘Well there **we are going to ruin** everyone...’
- c. *...y el cual nunca lo **hiremos a olvidar*** (S91, 12, JB)
‘...and that which **we will never forget**’

These peculiar constructions further document this writer’s limited proficiency in Spanish and produce further evidence that she was a heritage language learner with limited control of some morphosyntactic constructions.

6.4.3.3. Regular vs. Irregular Verb Forms

Although stem verb irregularities were not abundant, some writers struggled with verb formations more than others. Some of these are attributable to analogy with similar verb forms in Spanish or to vowel raising or lowering. Some of these processes of vocalic raising/lowering found in other grammatical categories have been identified in the phonology section above, but if they affect verb forms, they have been listed here. One heritage language learner’s writing contains several instances of these common rural or archaic features. For example, she confuses the third person plural preterite,

vinimos, and present tense, *venimos*, verb forms as in (a). As Sánchez (1982) found, this verb form is common in non-standard varieties today. She also diphthongizes the root vowel even in unstressed positions in subjunctive verb forms as in examples (e) and (f) and in (g) and (h) she diphthongizes the stem.

(41) Vowel lowering and creation of diphthongs in stem verb

- a. *¿Qué hay de nuevo en Zapata desde que nos **venimos** nosotros, Rafael?* (S69, 23, JB)
‘What else is new in Zapata since we **left**, Rafael?’
- b. *Pues eso fue porque nos **venimos** nosotras...* (S74, 7, JB)
‘Well that was because we **left**’
- c. ***dijieron** < *dijeron** ‘they said’ (S66, 14)
- d. ***dijera** < *dijera** ‘that she/he say’ (S68, 17, JB)
- e. ***perdamos** < *perdamos** ‘that we lose’ (S86, 19, JB)
- f. ***encuentremos** < *encontremos** ‘that we find’ (S99, 12, JB)
- g. ***creies** < *crees** ‘you believe’ (S102, 31, and S87, 9, JB)
- h. ***creias** < *creas** ‘that you believe’ (S87, 28, JB)

As Sánchez (1982) and Lipski (2008) note, similar or identical vowel confusions in verb forms, such as *piensamos* for *pensamos* (60) or *dijieron* for *dijeron* (218) are still used in U.S. Spanish varieties today.

Another verb form change occurs in declension forms of the verb *traer*, specifically the third person plural imperfect form for the verb that was spelled either *trayban* or *traiban* instead of *traían*. This feature was only found in the correspondence from the 1860s, but it is typical of rural Spanish varieties even today. Sánchez (1982) cites such examples in her study of Southwest Spanish.

(42) Traer

- a. *La gente que **trayban** se fue* (L2, 21, ABL)
‘the people that they were bringing left’
- b. *Se quitaron las que **traiban*** (L36, 6, TC)

‘They took off the (unknown items, feminine) they were bringing’

Another variation found in verbal declensions involves the use of /n/ for /m/ in intervocalic environments, e.g. *hemos* spelled *enos* and *íbamos* spelled *ibanos*, which is also present in oral varieties of Mexican and U.S. Spanish.

(43) $n < m$

- a. *ibanos* a *descansar* (M241, 36, GS)
‘we were going to rest’
- b. *algún día enos de llegar* (M241, 64, GS)
‘some day we should arrive’

The very common addition of /s/ final in the second person singular preterite form, probably due to the analogical extension of the pattern present in all other simple tenses (*sales*, *salías*, *saldrias*, and *saldrás*) as noted by Sánchez (1982), were, not surprisingly, also found in this study.

(44) Addition of /s/ final

- a. *salistes* < *saliste* ‘you left’ (I226, 5-7, MI)
- b. *supistes* < *supiste* ‘you knew’ (S102, 7, JB)

A similar analogy may also have caused the use of the verb form, *quedría complir* for *quería cumplir* (L10, 15, CB) ‘she wanted to fulfill or comply,’ since other irregular verbs, such as *tendría* are formed in the same way, i.e. the addition of the medial /d/ (Penny 1991).

6.4.3.4. Use of Subjunctive

Acevedo (2000) found in her diachronic study of 18th and 19th California Spanish that a gradual simplification of the verbal system was already underway, including the loss of future subjunctive forms. However, Moyna (2010) noted that the

future subjunctive was still in use in California Spanish until the mid 19th century. The Leyendecker-Benavides correspondence from the 1860s-1870s included in this study also contains future subjunctive forms and supports the evidence that U.S. varieties of Spanish held on to these forms until the 19th century, as Moyna argues.

(45) Future Subjunctive

- a. *Mi tío Manuel te encarga que veas a ver si hay | persona que quiera comprar un burro mana- | dero y si **hubiere** quien interese a él enton- | ces me avisas luego para que lo vean con la | cabayada* (L5, 75, ABL, 1861).
‘My uncle Manuel requests that you go see if there is someone who wants to buy a donkey and if there **were to be** someone interested in it then let me know so they can send it along with the horses.’
- b. *Dígale a Andrea que en primera | ocasión le mandaré sus encargos que me hace | y si no **se pudiere** será cuando balla Ma- | nuel.* (L21, 40-42, TC, 1860). ‘Tell Andrea that at the first opportunity I will send her the requests she made and if it **is not to be**, it will be when Manuel goes.’

However, change was in progress as evidenced by the use of *hubiera* for future time reference by the same writer.

- c. *Si **hubiera** condu[c]ta* (L4, 19, ABL)
‘if there were to be a ride, a way to travel’

6.4.3.5. Imperatives

In general, few non-etymological uses of the imperative verb form appear. Only four were noted, and two of these were made by an early 20th century heritage language learner whose limitations in Spanish have been noted elsewhere.

(46) Imperatives

- a. *Así es que tenga la bondad | de remitirme todas mis cartas | que usted tenga más y **save** (cf. *sepa*) que quedamos amigos* (S66, 19, JB).
‘Please be kind enough to return all my letters that you have and **know** that we remain friends.’

- b. *Pero cuando yo venga, si no te es molesto, **guardarlas** (cf. *guárdalas*) mientras y luego me las mandas* (S102, 73, JB).
 ‘But when I come, if it is not a bother, **keep them** for now and then send them.’

The other two are from Spanish-dominant second generation writers from the 1860s.

- c. **Reciben** (cf. *reciban*) *hespreciones de mi madre, de mis tíos, y demás familia* (L12,43, CB).
 ‘**Receive** expressions (good wishes) from my mother, my uncles and the rest of the family.’
- d. **Sabe** (cf. *sepa*) *esta | sinceramente lo aprecia el que de beras lo reconoce | como ermano* (L19, 8-10, SB).
 ‘**Know** this sincerely that the one who acknowledges you as his brother appreciates you.’

The fact that the *usted/ustedes* imperative form is identical to the subjunctive form may have some bearing on the usage in this case. If some weakening of the subjunctive use was already in play, the writers may have been unfamiliar with the form in either subjunctive or imperative.

6.4.4. Prepositions

Confusion regarding the standard use of the prepositions *para*, *por* and *a* appears mainly in the correspondence written by some of the younger writers from the 20th century. The three most noted instances, the extension of *para* to cover uses of other prepositions (*por*, *a*), the use of *por* for *para*, and the dropping of the preposition, *a*, are found below.

(47) *Para* instead of *por*

- a. *¿Pues **para** qué eres así, Rafael?* (S82, 29, JB)
 ‘**Why** are you that way, Rafael?’
- b. *¿**Para** qué eras tan voluble?* (S82, 43-44, JB)
 ‘**Why** are you so fickle?’
- c. *Tal vez tú creies que yo no tengo centimiento **para** lo que él dijo aunque son*

mentiras de él....(S102, 32, JB)

‘Perhaps you believe that I don’t have any feelings **because of** what he said even though he lies.’

(48) *Por* instead of *para*

d. *Te estoy escribiendo de prisa **por que** no me vean la carta aquí en casa, porque dice muchas cosa que no quiero que las vean* (S61, 33-34, JHV)

‘I am writing you **so that** they will not see the letter at home, because it contains many things I don’t want them to see.’

(49) Dropping of *a*

e. *Y en la otra pieza | le dije que si no tenía respuesta **[a]** mi pregunta* (S60, 18-19, JHV)

‘And in the other piece I told him that if he did not have a response **to** my question...’

f. *...pero los hago **[a]** un lado* (S62, 29, JHV)

‘...but I push them **to** one side’

i. *Dicen que va **[a]** estar muy bonito en esa...* (S62, 47, JHV)

‘They say it is going **to** be very pretty there.’

6.4.5. Archaic Lexicon

Two expressions no longer in use in standard Spanish appear in this study. These include the following: *tener **gana*** for *tener ganas* as in *tengo tanta gana de verlos*, I have a great desire or want to see you, and *estar + **bueno/a*** or ***buenos/as*** for statements regarding health, i.e. to be well, as in *estamos **buenos*** instead of *estamos bien*.

6.4.5.1. *Tener + gana*

According to the *CORDE* database of the *Real Academia Española*, *tener **gana** de*, mainly found in Peninsular Spanish, was in use from the 15th to the 19th centuries. Only two instances are noted in the 20th century, both for 1927. By the late 1880s, *tener*

ganas de begins to surface in CORDE and its use generalizes in the 20th century.⁴ This fact explains the difference in generational use between these two expressions in the Leyendecker Collection. Members of the older generation, born before 1840, use the archaic form *tener + gana*. However, a member of the younger generation, born in 1858, uses *ganas* (50d), an indicator that it was already being used in the late 1860s in Laredo and was more likely to be adopted by the younger generation:

(50) *Gana > ganas*

- a. ***Tengo | tanta gana de ver a mi madre y mi hija*** (L1, 25-26, ABL)
‘I want to see my mother and my daughter’
- b. ***no tenemos gana de comer*** (L7, 70, ABL)
‘we don’t want to eat’
- c. ***Tien mucha ga-| na de verlo*** (L33, 33-34, TC)
‘he wants to see him’
- d. ***tengo ganas de verte*** (L39, 8, YL)
‘I want to see you’

6.4.5.2. *Estar bueno/a/os/as*

A search in the CORDE database for *estoy/estamos buenos* resulted in 50 cases with the earliest use found as early as 1502. The 16th, 17th, and 19th centuries have between 10 and 15 cases each, with none found for the 18th century. The only cases found in the 20th century pertain to dialogues used in narrative prose, not in authentic documents from that time period. In general, it is clear that *estar + bueno/a/os/as* was still in use by the 19th century, largely in Spain, but that its use declined by the 20th century. The interesting finding is that in Laredo, the expression is still quite popular in the early 20th century. This expression was found in all three collections by several

⁴ The details of the process of replacement deserve a more quantitative study than can be conducted here, but for the purposes of this study a general outline will suffice.

writers, an indicator that it was commonly used in the area and lasted well into the 20th century.

(51) 1857-1867 Leyendecker collection

- a. *En casa todos **están buenos***, (L2, 6, ABL)
‘At home we are all well’
- b. ***están buenos*** (L12, 2, CB)
‘they are well’
- c. *Padre **está bueno*** (L15, 16, JBL)
‘Father is well’
- d. *Yo **estoy buena*** (L2, 5; L22, 3; L23, 3, TC)
‘I am well’

1914-1930 San Miguel collection

- e. ***estoy bueno***, (S41, 3, BM)
‘I am well’
- f. *Que te encuentres **bueno*** (S42, 18, BM)
‘Hope you find yourself well’

1910-1930 Idar collections

- g. ***estoy bueno*** (I223, 8, FI)
‘I am well’
- h. ***estamos buenos*** (I196, 1, AI)
‘we are well’
- i. *Todos **están buenos*** (I225, 4, JI)
‘all are well’

6.5. Rural Lexicon

According to CORDE, the words *muncho* or *munchísimo*, “much” or “very much”, no longer a part of standardized Spanish, were used from 1422 to 1685, with the largest number of uses in the 16th century, 633 to be exact. By the 17th century, only 19 instances are listed and after that, only one instance occurs in 1910, and this last example is from a dialogue piece in literature. A search for the use of *mucho* for the 16th century

alone resulted in 53,510 cases, with 34,693, 28,040, and 33,603 in the 17th, 18th, and 19th century respectively, a clear indicator that *muncho* was not part of standardized Spanish and thus not widely used in writing. However, the word *muncho* still survives in rural Spanish varieties in the U. S. (Sánchez 1982: 54) and was used by two young writers from the late 19th century in Laredo:

(52) *Muncho*

- a. *Con **muncho** gusto* (L15, 2, JBL)
‘with much gladness, gladly’
- b. *de lo que tengo **munchísimo** gusto* (L15, 4, JBL)
‘about which I am **very** glad’
- c. *Corrimos **muncho*** (M241, 87, GS)
‘We ran **a lot**’

Another word found in rural dialects but not part of standardized Spanish is *nadien*. A search in CORDE resulted in no uses of the word *nadien* prior to the 20th century, and the 59 cases found in the 20th century are from narrative prose that portrays uneducated speakers. The only individual in the entire corpus who used *nadien* was Josefina Benavides, the second-generation speaker who likely had little formal education in Spanish and thus used the oral variety. The most interesting observation is her self-correction of the use of *nadien*. Undoubtedly her correspondence with Rafael San Miguel, Jr., helped her improve her Spanish skills. However, the collection contains few letters written by Rafael, and he does not use the word *nadie* in any of them so it is impossible to confirm that he was her model. Her early letters (1915-1916) document her regular use of *nadien*, but by 1918, she switches to *nadie* and never uses the archaic form anymore, at least in writing. Below is a list of the letters with a few examples of her use of both words.

(53) *Nadien*

- a. *que **nadien** interumpiera* (S81, 6, JB)
'that **no one** interrupt'
- b. *lo irás a enseñar a **nadien***; (S85, 32, JB)
'you will send it to **no one**'
- c. *ni decirle a **nadien***. (S85, 32, JB)
'tell **no one**'

(54) *Nadie*

- d. *Quizá habras notado que contigo soy más seria que con **nadie*** (S122, 26)
'Perhaps you have noticed that with you I am more serious than with **anyone else**'
- e. *que handes paseando a **nadie*** (S123, 25, JB)
'that you are entertaining **no one**'
- f. *Y ten la seguridad de que **nadie** me podrá haser...* (S127, 24, JB)
'Be assured that **no one** can make me do...'

6.6. Pragmatics

This section includes linguistic expressions that reveal information about the context of the message, often indicating levels of respect, formality, or intimacy. Included below are personal forms of address, salutations, valedictions, closing remarks, and headings found in the correspondence.

6.6.1. *Forms of Address: Tú and Usted*

In all the letters from the 1860s, the members of the Benavides family used the formal *usted* form to Leyendecker, regardless of age; indeed, the oldest correspondent was 27 years his senior and the youngest 12 years his junior. The only use of the *tú* form in correspondence written to Leyendecker appeared in letters written by his two wives and by his little daughter as in (a), (b), and (c) and among peers, such as brothers and sisters as in (e). However, in one letter, his second wife, Juliana, uses both the *tú* and *usted* form in the same sentence. See (31). *Usted* is used for elders, for example, when the adult children write to their mother as in (f).

(55) *Tú* vs. *usted*

- a. *Sin más, **tú** | recibe muchos besos y abrazos de **tu** esposa* (L7, 113-4, ABL)
‘With nothing, **you** (informal) receive many kisses and hugs from **your** (informal) wife’
- b. *Pensaba tener |razón de **ti** esta semana por el |coreo* (L14, 1-3, JBL)
‘I was thinking I would hear from **you** (informal) this week through the mail’
- c. *Querido Papasito. **Te** mando un besito y Maquita | otro.* (L7, 1-2, YL)
‘Dear father. I am sending **you** (informal) a little kiss and another one for Maquita’
- d. *Resibi **tu** carta* (L1, 1, ABL)
‘I received this letter’
- e. *No **te** enojas Pancha. Ya sabes que **te** quiero mucho* (L1, 75, ABL)
‘Don’t get angry Pancha. You know that I love **you** very much’
- f. *¿Cómo está **V[d]**?* (L1, 43, ABL)
‘How are you (formal)?’

In the early part of the 20th century, the use of *tú* among siblings continues and only one writer in the 20th century uses *tú* when addressing his mother. One can safely generalize that if one sibling used the informal *tú* to address his mother, the other siblings likely did the same.

- (56) a. *Mamacita, por mi salud, por todo lo | que a mi bienestar se refiere, **te** ruego no **te** | preocupes...* (I223, 6-8, FI)
‘Mother, for my health, for my well being in general, I beg **you** (informal) not to worry.’

Thus it is clear that in the 20th century, unlike the 19th century, *tú* begins to be used for asymmetrical family relationships.

The use of *usted*, on the other hand, is mostly reserved for business associates and clients. However, the young, second generation writer, Josefina, uses the *usted* form in the six letters she writes to her boyfriend during their first year of the relationship. In the last of these she states that even though he has asked her to address him in the *tú*

form, she forgets because she is not used to it. Thereafter she uses the familiar form when writing to him. She writes:

- (57) a. *También me dice | en su carta que | quieres que nos | hablemos de tú | pues si nomás | que a mí se me | olvida como yo | estoy inpuesta (sic) | hablarte de usted* (S69, 29-37).
 ‘You also tell me in your (formal) letter that you want me to address **you** in “**you**” (informal), but I just forget since I am used to speaking to **you** in formal terms.’

6.6.2. *Salutations*

Salutations signal the relationship that exists between writer and addressee, providing clues regarding the level of intimacy or distance or the hierarchy differences. As Balestra (2008) states, everything from the length of the introduction to the choice of words reveals to some degree, not only the personal relationship, but also the social practice of the period. Her findings based on California and New Mexico Spanish from 1800-1930 indicated that “asymmetrical” salutations, i.e. those that communicated a power differential, changed over time, becoming more “symmetrical,” i.e. less power oriented. She concludes that salutations get shorter due to cultural and linguistic contact, since English is more direct and parsimonious than Spanish (82). In this study, salutations also varied in length in the last half of the 19th century, with the longest greetings written to Leyendecker by a female and the oldest member of the immediate family. The only other lengthy salutation is written by a brother-in-law twelve years younger than Leyendecker. The translations provided are just approximations of meaning, as the forms do not have parallel constructions in English:

(58) Lengthy salutations

- a. *Mi estimado hijo de mi singular aprecio* (L23, TC)

- ‘My dear son of my singular appreciation’
- b. *Querido y nunca olvidado hijo* (L22, TC)
‘Dear and unforgettable son’
- c. *Mi muy apreciable Señor de mi mayor aprecio* (L10, CB)
‘My greatly appreciated and esteemed sir.’

The shorter greetings were mainly written by members of Leyendecker’s own generation with one exception. Here are a few examples:

(59) Short salutations

- a. *Mi lindo* (L8, 42, ABL) ‘my darling’
- b. *Señor* (L9, 1, BB) ‘Sir’
- c. *Querido señor* (L10, CB) ‘Dear sir’
- d. *Querido hermano* (L16, SB) ‘Dear brother’
- e. *Don Juan* (L19, SB) ‘Mr. John’

None of the letters written during the early 20th century contain lengthy salutations, perhaps a result of English language contact. Another possibility is that by the 20th century Spanish speakers used a less formal register due to the increase in literacy and writing. In any case, a noticeable difference in formality and length of salutations exists between these two centuries.

(60) 20th century salutations

- a. *Fino amigo* (I197)
‘fine friend’
- b. *Estimada amiga* (S178)
‘Dear friend’

Salutations also signal the status of the relationships between the writer and the addressee. This is particularly true for the lengthy romantic correspondence between Rafael San Miguel, Jr. and Josefina Benavides. Their salutations reflect the full circle of the relationship, beginning with formal and distant wording (*apreciable*), shifting to intimate terms (*adorada, querido, inolvidable*) and ending with greetings of a strained

friendship (*estimado amigo*). The salutations of other writers identify the relationship between the writer and addressee in most cases, either of family or friends. Below are examples of some of the salutations in use in Laredo and the area from 1910 to 1930.

(61) Adjective + relationship

- a. *Estimado amigo* (S109, JB)
'Dear friend'
- b. *Mi querido hijo* (S187, RSMS)
'My beloved son'
- c. *Estimable camarada* (I211, CI)
'Esteemed comrade or colleague'

(62) Adjective + adjective + relationship

- a. *Estimado y "distinguido" hermano* (I220, EI)
'Esteemed and distinguished brother'
- b. *Estimado y querido hermano* (I203, CI)
'Esteemed and beloved brother'

(63) Adverb + adjective + relationship

- a. *Muy querido compañero* (I199, CI)
'Much loved companion'
- b. *Muy querido hermano* (I201, CI)
'Much loved brother'

(64) Adjective + name

- a. *Apresiable Rafael* (S83, JB)
'Esteemed Rafael'
- b. *Inolvidable Rafael* (S101, JB)
'Unforgettable Rafael'
- c. *Adorada Josefina* (S179, RSMJ)
'Adored Josefina'

(65) Possessive adjective + adjective + name

- a. *Mi apresiable Rafael* (S85, JB)
'My esteemed Rafael'
- b. *Mi querida Josefina* (S180, RSMJ)
'My dear Josefina'

- c. *Mi adorada Josefina* (S181, RSMJ)
'My adored Josefina'

(66) Relationship or title

- a. *Hermano* 'brother' (I206, CI)
- b. *Señorita* 'Miss' (S176, RSMJ)

Another observation about pragmatics in the Leyendecker collection includes the use of diminutives by the wives when addressing Leyendecker, an indicator of an intimate and caring relationship.

(67) Diminutives

- a. *Querido Esposito* (L15, JBL)
'Dear little husband'
- b. *Mi esposito mío* (L5,1, ABL)
'My little husband'
- c. *Querido papasito* (L39, YL)
'Dear father'
- d. *Mamacita* (I223, FI)
'Mommy'

An unusual form of reference is the use of *señores padres* by the mother, the oldest member of the Leyendecker family in reference to her son-in-law's parents and appears multiple times in her correspondence (L26, 22) (L28, 15) (L29, 20). In light of her previous use of very respectful phrasing when addressing her son-in-law, the use of *señores padres* is likely a more formal version of *queridos padres* and provides another example of her respectful form of address. She writes, for example, *Salúdeme a los señores padres y los parientes que se acuerdan de mí* (L27, 10-11). Send my greetings to your parents and relatives that remember me.

6.6.3. *Valedictions and Closing Remarks*

6.6.3.1. Valediction: *Ver* + Enclitic Pronoun + *Desea*

The valedictory expression *verte desea* and similar combinations of the conjugated verb *desea*, to desire, and the infinitive *ver*, to see, in an inverted verb order, has been identified as an archaic syntactical feature of 19th century California Spanish (Moyna & Decker 2005: 158). This same expression appears repeatedly in the correspondence between members of the Leyendecker-Benavides family, who wrote to each other between 1860 and 1870. No distinctive pattern exists regarding gender or age, as parents, children, and siblings use the archaic expression; however, the *usted* form, *que verlo deseo* is more often used by the matriarch of the family, in 12 out of the 20 letters she writes. The younger members use a combination of the *tú* or *usted* form and use both verb order forms. Only three such expressions appear in the correspondence from the early 20th century. No pattern regarding gender or age surfaces here either.

(68) *Verte desea/quisiera*

- a. between mother and son: *tu madre que verte desea* (I221, 16, JIV)
‘your mother who wishes to see you’
- b. between brothers: *que verte quisiera* (I233, 25, FI)
‘who would like to see you’
- c. between friends: *que verte desea más que escribirte* (S63, 36, JHV)
‘who wishes to see you’

One notable difference in valedictions from the 20th century is the greater variety of the expressions, some of which are more informal and intimate than those of the 19th. For example, in 1914, a father closes his letters to his son with a very loving expression in (a) and a friend plays with both informal and formal forms (b) and (c).

(69) 20th Century valedictions

- a. *Con mil cariños de tu mamá y de tu hermana, recibe un abrazo de tu papá que te quiere mucho* (S184, 46-47, RSMS)
‘With a thousand loving expressions from your mother and your sister, receive a hug from your father who loves you very much.’
- b. *Es todo lo que te dice tu amigo y su seguro servidor* (S41, 33-34, BM)
‘This is all your friend and humble servant says’
- c. *Sin más tu inolvidable amigo* (S40, 34-35, BM)
‘With nothing more your unforgettable friend’

The ladies in Rafael’s life use a wide variety of valedictions, reflecting the level of intimacy and the status of the relationship:

- (70) a. *Cariñosamente* (S57, 63, JB)
‘Lovingly’
- b. *te quiero mucho*; (S59, 30, JB)
‘I love you very much’
- c. *quien lo ama* (S64, 13, JB)
‘who loves you’
- d. *su amiga* (S66, 24, JB)
‘your friend’
- e. *’Sin más su attenta y segura servidora* (S67, 21, JB)
‘With nothing further, your attentive and humble servant’
- f. *Sin más quien te ama* (S71, 32-33, JB)
‘With nothing further, (she) who loves you’
- g. *tu siempre fiel, Josefina* (S79, 47, JB)
‘your always faithful Josefina’
- h. *Tuya* (S80, 37, JB)
‘Yours’

6.6.3.2. Closing Remarks

Three forms of closing remarks used to send greetings to friends or family members were prevalent in 19th century. These included the use of the words *saludes*, *memorias*, and *expresiones* in some departing phrase. Only one use of any of these words was found in the 20th century correspondence. *Saludes* for *saludos* for sending greetings, as in *recibe saludes de todos*, receive greetings from all, appear more

frequently in the 1860s correspondence whereas *saludos* is the expression used in the 20th century letters. Only one example, the last one listed below, appears in the correspondence from 1910- 1930.

(71) *Saludes*

- a. *Mis **saludes** a mis tíos* (L1, 63, ABL)
'Greetings to my uncles'
- b. *Recibe **saludes** de todas en casa* (L2, 37, ABL)
'Receive greetings from all those at home'
- c. *Recibe **saludes** de todos* (L6, 106, ABL)
'Receive greetings from everyone'
- d. ***Saludes** a mi hermano* (L14, 41, JBL)
'Greetings to my brother'
- e. ***Salu-| des** para su papasito* (S58, 15, FA)
'Greetings to your father'

Recibir + memorias, muchas memorias, or memorias, is used in closing remarks by writers of the 19th century as a way of sending regards to family members and friends. Below are some examples that indicate it was not particular to one writer, but generally used. Although the literal translation for *memorias* is 'remembrances' and for *expresiones* is 'expressions,' in this context these words are another way of extending greetings.

(72) *Memorias*

- a. *Muchas **memorias** a todos de la casa y a los Señores curas y demás amigos* (L1, 41, JL)
'Many greetings to all at home and to the priests and other friends'
- b. *Recibe | muchas **memorias** de todos en casa* (L3, 59-60, ABL)
'Receive many greetings from everyone at home'
- c. ***Memorias** a Andrea* (L11, 18, CB)
'Greetings to Andrea'
- d. ***Memorias** de mi madre que es | pera berte gordo* (L14, 49-50, JBL)
'Greetings from my mother who hopes to see you fat'
- e. *Recibe **memorias** | de nana chica, Ysabel y María* (L20, 6-7, TC)
'Receive greetings from little nana, Ysabel and Maria'

The last phrase used in closing remarks involved the use of the word *expresiones*, spelled as *espreciones* or *hespreciones*, to send greetings or affectionate messages.

(73) *Expresiones*

- a. *Y con **espreciones** muy afectuosas de toda esta mi casa* (L23, 18-19, TC)
‘And with very affectionate greetings from all at home’
- b. *Resive mil recuerdos de sus queridas hijitas, **espreciones** de Juliana y Pancha* (L30, 13-14, TC)
‘Receive a thousand remembrances from your dear daughters, greetings from Juliana and Pancha’
- c. *Cuando | les escriba, déles **espreciones** de mi parte y de toda mi familia* (L36, 12-13, TC)
‘When you write them, give them greetings from me on behalf of all my family’
- e. *Reciben **hespreciones** de mi madre, de mis tíos y demás familia* (L12, 43, CB) ‘Receive greetings from my mother, my uncles and other family’

By the 20th century, these expressions are no longer in any of the correspondence, replaced by other expressions, which are not so formulaic and indicate that the writers do not feel so restrained in their expression or that they are just more skilled and confident about their writing.

(74) Less formal greetings

- a. *cariñosos recuerdos para toda la familia* (S191, 31, RSMS)
‘loving memories from all the family’
- b. *saluda afectuosamente a toda la familia* (S192, 23, RSMS)
‘affectionately greet all the family’
- c. *recibe el | recuerdo de los mismos y las ben- | diciones de mamá que verte quisiera* (I233, 23-25, JI)
‘receive greetings from the usual ones and blessings from mother who wishes to see you’
- d. *con amables saludos para tu se-| ñora y tus niños* (I203, 60-61, CI)
‘with amiable greetings for your wife and children’

6.6.4. *Headings: Dates and Titles*

The headings of the letters indicate that the writers were influenced by English contact and had learned the patterns of letter writing in English. In almost all cases, the dates written in the headings do not follow the standardized Spanish form, e.g. *16 de junio de 1898*. Even the 19th century letters use the day and month English format, e.g. *junio 16 de 1898* or *junio 16, 1898*. All other writers, younger and older generation, use the preposition.

In the 20th century, second generation writers write dates in one of three formats: 1) entirely in English, e.g. May 5, 1919; 2) a Spanish calque on the English format, e.g. *mayo 5, 1919*; or 3) Spanish format, e.g. *el 5 de mayo de 1919*. Those who are very competent in Spanish sometimes write the date in the Spanish standardized format i.e., omitting the article, e.g. *15 de abril de 1927* (I203, CI), but they also use the other two formats. Those who are less competent in Spanish write the date in Spanish without the preposition or write it in English: *agosto 31, 1914* (S41, BM) and *Aug. 13th, 1920* (S43, BM); *Jan. 2, 1916* (S88, JB) and *enero 9, 1916* (S89, JB). Only one of the second generation writers uses English titles in the heading, e.g. *Mr. Rafael San Miguel, Jr.* (S99, JB). The others use *Sr.* or *Sra.*

6.7. **Summary**

The findings of this linguistic analysis contribute to our understanding of the social and educational history of the people that lived in Laredo and the surrounding areas during the late 19th and early 20th century. The orthographic patterns of the 19th century document the lack of extensive schooling even among the wealthier families,

especially among the females who were more amply represented in the 1860s. Additionally, the original letters from this period contained many lexical and orthographic irregularities (e.g. word separation, word fusion, punctuation, capitalization, and accents) that were standardized in the transcriptions to facilitate reading. When orthography is considered, it is clear that even though standardization of Spanish occurred in the 18th century, Laredoans in the 19th century had limited practice with written Spanish because of lack of schooling and written models in the media and geographical isolation.

As in other southwestern Spanish and Mexican dialects, the expected and most observable phonological practice was *yeísmo*, noted in the non-standard spelling, particularly of the 19th century correspondence. Other common phonetic features, such as vowel raising and lowering, aphesis, metathesis, epenthesis, apocope, consonant cluster reductions, and dropping of homologous vowels, were also found predominantly in the writing of the 1860s and in a few of the 20th century writers who had little formal schooling in Spanish. These common phonetic features indicate that Laredoans' speech was not unlike that of similarly past and present uneducated speakers of U.S. Spanish. In contrast, some Laredoans, whether they were Spanish monolinguals or bilinguals, wrote in standardized Spanish for the most part, with a few instances of the linguistic features noted above, probably an indicator of lengthier and more formal schooling in Spanish.

With regard to morphosyntaxis and verbal systems, both second generation bilingual speakers and Spanish-dominant second generation writers used non-standard

pronouns, prepositions, and verb forms. Even some rural lexicon was present in their writing. The more interesting verbal features include the preferred use of the synthetic future over the periphrastic in both late 19th and early 20th century writers and the limited use of the future subjunctive in the 19th century compared to the past subjunctive form, both conservative verbal features. Some confusion of *ser* vs. *estar* forms among second generation writers was also present.

A clear linguistic feature that did change from the 19th century to the 20th century regards pragmatics. Members of the older generation from the 19th century used more formal and lengthier salutations and valedictions than younger generation writers. Additionally, particular word choices used in closing remarks of the 19th century correspondence are no longer present in the 20th century, evidence that the Spanish language pragmatics was influenced by modernizing influences. Informal register between siblings, spouses, or lovers noted by the use of *tú* is present in the correspondence of both centuries but it is more often used in asymmetrical relationships in the 20th century.

Lastly, some English influence is evident in the format used for dates, with numerous examples of months being written or abbreviated in English or written according to the English word order rather than the lengthier Spanish version.

In sum, the correspondence and documents in this linguistic analysis paint a representative picture of the different types of Spanish speakers who lived in Laredo during this period, not unlike those that live in this area of South Texas today: a mix of Spanish monolinguals, Spanish dominant speakers, and bilingual second generation

speakers, ranging from those who were semi-literate in Spanish to those who are highly literate in the language.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1. Introduction

Creating a clear picture of language use in an historical period that is long past is impossible. However, through the study of socio-historical data and written documents produced during the period, a researcher can begin to see some dominant and peripheral images emerge much like a sepia photograph that gives the viewer a fairly good idea of the subject being photographed but does not recreate it entirely. Some guesswork is still required.

The results of this investigation are somewhat similar. A sepia snapshot of Spanish language use and attitude in Laredo from the 1860s to the 1930s has emerged, with some observable dominant shades and light undertones that help reconstruct how Laredo used language and how two very different cultures negotiated daily living. This final chapter provides a summary of the findings of the entire investigation which include a synopsis of Spanish language use and the linguistic attitudes prevalent in the Laredo area, the impact of Anglo migration to the border, the educational opportunities or lack there of, and the role of the Spanish press. The most salient linguistic features of Spanish found in the corpus are also highlighted. Finally, some recommendations are made and reflections shared regarding this investigation. The topic is far from exhausted because no other sociohistorical linguistic research on the Spanish dialect of Laredo has been conducted and this border area has a rich linguistic heritage that deserves more study.

7.2. Spanish Language Use and Attitudes in Public and Private Domains

From 1860 to 1880, Spanish was the dominant language spoken in Laredo's private and public domains. Only twelve years earlier, Texas had been part of Mexico, and it was still geographically isolated from the rest of Texas. Educational opportunities were sparse due to the lack of funding, droughts, wars and the constant need to defend the town from Indian raids. The largest English speaking presence was Fort McIntosh, established in 1849 to protect the border, but few outside that outpost could speak and write English. Even in Spanish, illiteracy was widespread. Those who could read and write the language were generally from the more distinguished families, such as the Benavides, who are represented in this study. However, even their correspondence (1857-1865) attests to the lack of formal schooling in Spanish, given the abundance of variation in their Spanish orthography, especially noticeable in the female correspondence. Additionally, no Spanish or English press existed in Laredo until 1881, which contributed to Laredoans' unfamiliarity with standard written Spanish. The data also suggests that English impact was minimal during this decade since little evidence of it surfaces in the correspondence.

The last two decades of the 19th century changed the linguistic map of Laredo. The population boom of the 1880s, due to the arrival of the railroads and the beginning of both English and Spanish newspapers, had a major impact on language use in the Laredo area. Anglos and other foreigners came in large numbers and their presence contributed to Laredo's prosperity, but it also challenged the status quo to some degree. English became too vital to ignore in politics, government, and commerce, so Laredoans

took advantage of opportunities to learn English but not at the cost of losing their Spanish language and culture. Schools of all types began to emerge: private schools that taught the entire curriculum in Spanish, others that taught it all in English, bilingual schools for children and adults, evening classes for adults in English, Spanish or both. By 1920 all school children had to be taught in English in the public schools according to state mandate, and this fact accelerated the bilingualism of the younger generation.

The discussion in the Spanish press pushed the importance of literacy and the need to educate Spanish-speaking children in a bilingual setting. Ethnic pride was vibrant, never apologetic, and this led to tension between public school educators, who were frustrated with low attendance rates, and Laredoans, who were equally frustrated that Spanish could not be taught in the public schools. Their response was to choose other alternatives for their children's education, such as the *escuelitas*. Another area of language tension was evident in some Anglo settlers' resentment that Spanish continued to be used in the community and even filtered into the positions of local power. The reality was that Spanish could not be ignored because it played a role in politics. The large working class was Spanish monolingual, and through the *mutualistas* they organized themselves in support of party candidates and thus participated in the political process. Even politicians and public figures with non-Spanish surnames often spoke or understood Spanish to some degree. Anglos did make inroads in county and city elections in the late 19th century, but they worked hand in hand with the Mexican elite who never totally relinquished their power. Many of these Mexican elite were land grant owners who held on to their property or were successful merchants, and they played a

key role in Laredo's social, economic and political arena. So even though there were undertones of racism and negative attitudes towards the use of Spanish on the part of some, those who held those views were in the minority and could not wield enough influence to impose their views on the community at large.

As the number of Anglo citizens grew, the need for them to organize a social network where they could feel comfortable and exercise some authority resulted in the formation of organizations that created today's long-standing civic traditions, such as celebrating George Washington's Birthday. Even though the Mexican elite were never excluded from participating, the originators of the very early events were largely Anglo. Moreover, Anglos comprised the greatest part of the membership, and since many of the members were professionals or successful businessmen and their wives, an elitist and very visible Anglo society emerged over time. Fortunately, an international vision for this celebration took root early on, and the inclusion of Mexican representatives and full participation of Laredoans at large is still a hallmark of this celebration.

In spite of the fact that many working class and poor Laredoans in the late 19th century were illiterate, newspapers in both English and Spanish began operations in the 1880s. These provided all Laredoans an opportunity to follow the news and those who were bilingual could read about current events in the United States as well as Mexico. The Spanish press, however, was much more active during this period, with multiple newspapers being published at times, while Laredo only had one English newspaper, *The Laredo Times*, which survived under slightly different names and included a Spanish section or insert during much of that time.

Although English was the prestige language because it was ensconced in state and national, political and institutional power, Spanish continued to be the language of the community due to the ethnic composition of Laredo, that was largely composed of native-born Tejanos or recent Mexican immigrants, all of whom spoke Spanish. This is evident in the Webb County records, which contain tangible reminders that English governed systems, such as the judiciary, had to accommodate for the Spanish monolinguals or Spanish dominant speakers who participated as jurors, witnesses, plaintiffs, or defendants.

Evidence also suggests that a purist Spanish language ideology existed among some Laredo residents, but the local variety was supported by an undercurrent of covert prestige. Thus, for example, an outspoken proponent of purism balked at the practice of code-switching that was often heard on Laredo streets and insisted that Spanish speakers should not mix English and Spanish. This position printed in the Spanish press is evidence that oral code-switching was likely practiced widely in the early 20th century, much like today. Loan words and some code-switching also made their way into the Spanish press, particularly in the sports pages of the newspapers. One hundred years later, code-switching and borrowing into U.S. Spanish still stirs up heated debates.

In the private domain, attitudes regarding Spanish language use were expressed by a variety of writers, from competent bilinguals, heritage language learners, and Spanish monolinguals, to non-speakers of Spanish. The variety of metalinguistic statements provides insight into these Spanish language speakers' attitudes and those of others like them. From these statements we can surmise that bilingual speakers were

aware that their Spanish was not as eloquent as that of a Spanish monolingual, that competent bilinguals were fully aware of the marketability of their skills, that first generation parents wanted their children to maintain and improve their Spanish and that some non-Spanish speakers wanted to learn it.

7.3. Spanish Linguistic Features

This study included an analysis of Spanish monolinguals and bilinguals, ranging from fully literate to semi-literate. As a result, these individuals exhibit a whole range of linguistic features, and point to the diversity of Laredo Spanish from the earliest times. Additionally, the degree of educational background varied among first and second-generation writers. Some second-generation fluent bilinguals, for example, wrote quite eloquently in standard Spanish prose, while others used non-standard morphological or lexical features. This range of language maintenance and loss is typical of border residents who have diverse language and socio-economic backgrounds.

Nonetheless, Laredoans and others who lived in the area share some common linguistic features with the northern Mexican dialect, as well as features found in other U.S. Spanish varieties of the Southwest, including New Mexican and California Spanish. In phonology, *yeísmo*, aphesis, apocope, epenthesis, metathesis, loss of homologous vowels and diphthongs, vowel raising and lowering were found, all of which have been noted in previous diachronic and synchronic studies although the majority of these were more prevalent in the 19th century than the 20th. In morphology, the most observable patterns in both the 19th and 20th century were the preference for the synthetic future instead of the periphrastic, the minimal use of the “innovative” *estar* for *ser*, and the

non-standard use of pronouns, prepositions, concord, agreement, and verb forms by second-generation writers. The use of future subjunctive forms and *leísmo* were only noted sporadically, and only in the 19th century correspondence.

Some expressions no longer used today and which may have been particular to this region and period studied were found, as well as some rural lexicon still present in U.S. varieties of Spanish. In general, the Spanish discourse was more formal in the late 19th century than in the early 20th, as noted in the salutations, valedictions and closing remarks.

Some evidence of English influence was noted in the headings that contained dates and titles often written in English or following English formats. However, very few instances of code-switching were present, and these were mostly confined to lexicon.

7.4. Recommendations and Reflections

Newspapers, both Spanish and English, are an enormous resource for further study of English and Spanish language use and culture in Laredo. Even though this study reviewed a substantial number of Spanish language newspapers, not all issues of some of the longest running Spanish newspapers were reviewed due to the sheer size of the collections. This was particularly the case for the English newspaper, *The Laredo Times*, which certainly contains much more information about how the English speaking society viewed and interacted with the Spanish speaking community than was presented in this study. Additionally, this investigation only analyzed the Spanish press for evidence of language contact and language attitudes, rather than the linguistic features of

the Spanish used in the press from its inception in the 1880s to the 1920s. As will be recalled from Chapter 6, the linguistic analysis was limited to private correspondence and court records. Consequently a wealth of data exists regarding the Spanish language used in the press during this period, and it holds much promise for future diachronic studies.

On a personal note, I have found this investigation extremely fulfilling as it has allowed me to gain a much richer understanding of the heritage and beauty of the diverse language use in this atypical Texas border community. As a young adolescent, I became aware that my linguistic and cultural experience in Laredo was much different, for example, from the negative experiences of my cousins who spent part of their adolescence during the 1950s in Premont and Falfurrias, in the Rio Grande Valley. When I left Laredo to attend college, I met students from the Valley who had had similar experiences. Even in the 1960s, racist attitudes towards Spanish speakers or people of Mexican descent were very prevalent in that part of South Texas. Prior to this investigation, I could not clearly account for the differences in our experiences. This sociohistorical study, however, provided me the opportunity to learn about Laredo's history and the key factors that led to the development of a community unlike that of the Valley, one that appreciated bilingualism and supported Spanish language maintenance. I also discovered the great contributions of Laredo community leaders who spoke their mind regarding the importance of Spanish language maintenance, either through the press or through their positions of power, social or political. Among them were several Laredo women, all of whom deserve to be the subject of dissertations or theses. These

include Jovita Idar, Leonor Villegas de Magnón, and Sara Estela Ramírez, all contemporaries who lived in the early 20th century and who left their mark on Laredo history. Although some information has been published about them, they have not received, in my opinion, enough recognition.

As a linguist, I have learned to look objectively at the interplay between Spanish and English and the attitudes therein. I have also learned to appreciate the impact of demographics, international and local politics, and leadership on language maintenance, all of which left an indelible mark on Spanish language use in Laredo. The inclusion of diverse sources of data such as the correspondence, the press, and the courts, challenged me as a researcher, but the time was well spent.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the past, I hope that this investigation has contributed to a better understanding of and appreciation for Laredo's linguistic history, one that helps create a clearer image of Spanish language use during this period. In conclusion, I recommend that future socio-historical linguistic studies about South Texas, and particularly about Laredo, be conducted, so that the contributions, language and culture of our ancestors can be better known and appreciated.

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APPENDIX A**JOHN ZIRVAS LEYENDECKER COLLECTION**

This Appendix is included as a supplementary file along with the dissertation.

APPENDIX B**RAFAEL SAN MIGUEL JR. COLLECTION**

This Appendix is included as a supplementary file along with the dissertation.

APPENDIX C**CLEMENTE AND FEDERICO IDAR COLLECTION**

This Appendix is included as a supplementary file along with the dissertation.

APPENDIX D**MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION**

This Appendix is included as a supplementary file along with the dissertation.

APPENDIX E**WEBB COUNTY CIVIL AND CRIMINAL COURT RECORDS**

This Appendix is included as a supplementary file along with the dissertation.

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